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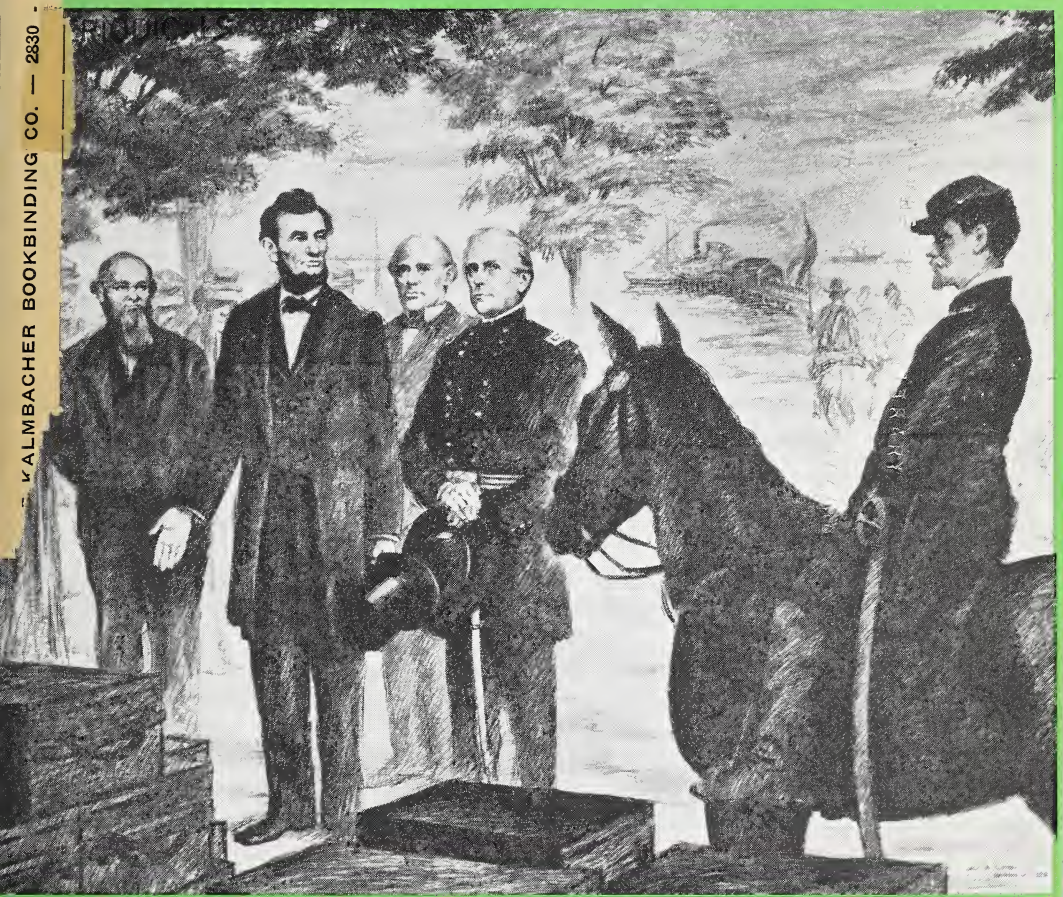

LINCOLN AT FORT MONROE *(See pages 59 and 120)*

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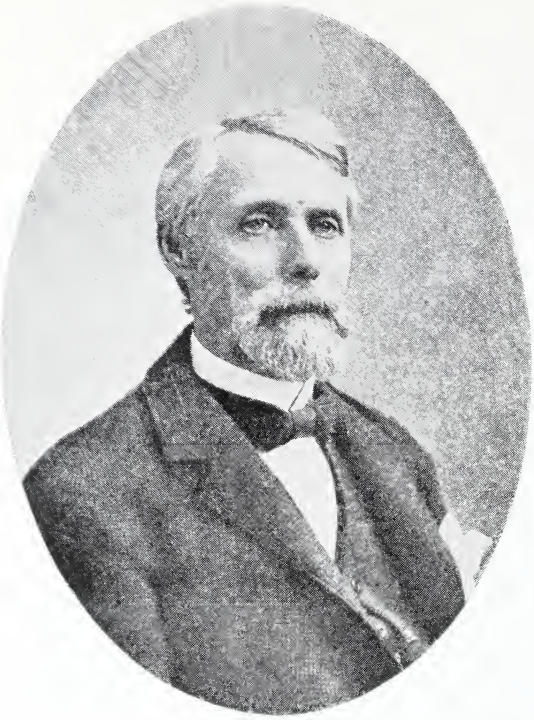


William O. Davis

Jesse W. Fell

LORING C. MERWIN

McLean County's Newspapers — Particularly the Pantagraph

Loring C. Merwin is publisher of The Daily Pantagraph, *Bloomington.*
This article is a very slight revision of a talk he delivered at an Illinois State Historical Society luncheon at Illinois State Normal University in Normal on Friday, October 11, 1957

THE CENTENNIAL year for Illinois State Normal University, 1957, also happens to be the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of McLean County's first newspaper. Believe it or not, there have been no less than 140 weekly and daily newspapers published since that time in Bloomington, the county seat, alone. Many more weekly papers have been and are being published in other towns of the county. An attempt to cover all of these is obviously impossible.

So I am going to limit this report to the newspapers of Bloomington – the very early ones and particularly those in the line of succession to *The Daily Pantagraph.* I am also going to confine myself to the first seventy-five years of central Illinois newspapering, or roughly the period between the Black Hawk War and World War I. For these were the years of greatest growth, both for the county and its newspapers – the metamorphosis of a patch of prairie with a handful of villages into the largest and most productive farm county of the nation's fourth most populous state.

I am also going to mention briefly four men whom I consider among the "greats" of early Illinois publishing.

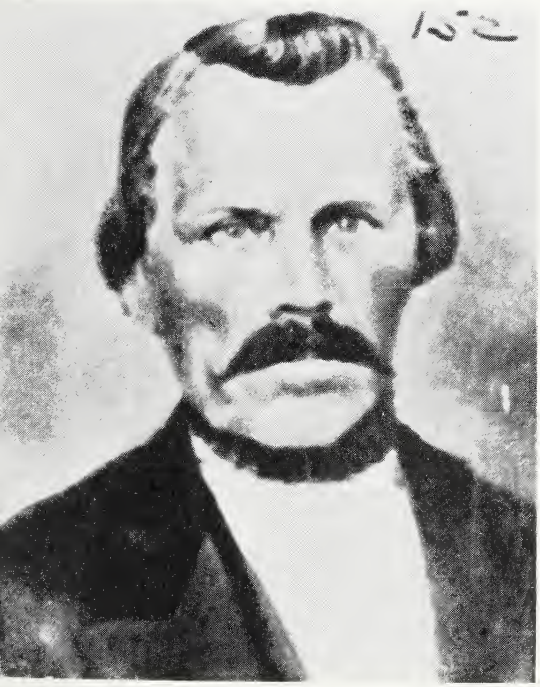
Let's take a look at Bloomington in the year 1837. Founded just six years before – on twenty-two and one-half acres of land donated by a pioneer speculator named James Allin – it was a typical central Illinois village. The Illinois of that day was neither civilization nor frontier, but something not quite definable in between. In 1837 it had been a state just nineteen years.

There were no longer free-roving tribes of Indians, but towns were few, small and far apart. There was not a foot of railroad and the highways were no more than meandering tracks across the prairies, twisting and turning to avoid natural barriers. Bridges over streams, except occasionally within town limits, were unheard of. In between villages was the endless rolling prairie, frequently covered with grass so tall a horse could move through it unseen. Dotting the prairie were groves of hardwood trees providing lumber, fuel and windbreaks.

This prairie between the groves was an incredibly rich land, but the early settlers hardly realized it. They preferred the groves because of shelter and fuel and because in the 1830's there wasn't a plow made which could more than scratch the tough prairie sod. Even if the farmers had been able to utilize the rich land to anything like its capacity, there was no commercial market in which to sell their surplus. The nearest city was St. Louis. Chicago was an inconsequential village of a few hundred people. The only navigable river was more than thirty miles away with Pekin as the port of entry.

There was not too much timber, the greatest necessity of that day. There was no coal – it was then supposed –

Edward J. Lewis



Charles P. Merriman

and no building stone. Even good drinking water was not too abundant. The prairie, though beautiful with its tall waving grass and masses of wild flowers, did not drain naturally and was a swamp the greater part of the year.

This was not a very promising location for a town, let alone one that could hope to support a newspaper. Yet on January 14, 1837, two adventuresome souls – Jesse Fell, a pioneer lawyer, and William Hill, a printer – issued Volume I, Number I of McLean County's first newspaper. With the mouth-filling title of *Bloomington Observer and McLean County Advocate* it had the longest name and one of the shortest lives of any paper in our county history. The remarkable thing was that it started at all. For few towns north of Springfield had yet ventured a newspaper. *The Tribune,* now Chicago's oldest, was not to be founded until ten years later.

Even though short-lived, the story of the *Observer and Advocate's* birth is worth telling. Jesse Fell, the man who started it and whom we at the *Pantagraph* regard as our patron saint, was more a community builder than an editor. He was the town's first lawyer and by 1836 had taken in a law partner named David Davis. Fell was convinced that the new town, if it was to grow, needed a newspaper to extol its virtues and push its progress. So, with capital supplied by Asahel Gridley, the town's leading merchant, he sent William Hill to Philadelphia to buy the press and type. These were shipped by steamer to New Orleans, then up the Mississippi to St. Louis by steamboat where they were transferred to a smaller steam packet for Pekin. From Pekin they were hauled laboriously across the prairie and through the streams by oxcart. The whole journey required nearly two months.

The office of the new publishing venture was established in a corner of the McLean County Courthouse. If this seems a little strange it must be remembered that the public looked upon the paper as very much of a benefaction entitled to all available support. The rent probably was low. I could find no record of just what it was but for a time the courthouse was also used as a school for which the county commissioners exacted a rental of $3.00 per month. We can assume that the *Observer and Advocate* paid on about that same basis – not what you would call a staggering overhead.

Like all early papers the *Observer and Advocate* was four pages, since the hand press on which it was printed could print only one side of a sheet at a time. It was a five-column format – about the size of an average modern tabloid. All things considered, it was remarkably well printed.

American newspapers have traditionally had three functions: First (and, of course, foremost) to give the news; second, to promote the growth and improvement of their communities and, third, to take sides politically. I think the order in which I have stated the functions are the commonly accepted ones today – but not so a hundred years ago. Ideas of what constituted news were quite different then and the other two functions were considered much more important.

The very first issue of the *Observer and Advocate* illustrates this difference. That first issue contained an account of two local meetings lately held for the purpose of establishing a public library – something unheard of in an 1837 Illinois village. Jesse Fell and David Davis were leading spirits in the matter and Dr. John Henry, an intellectual physician of a type not often found in the country towns of

that time, was chosen permanent president of the library committee. There was an editorial plea that a produce market be established and another pointing the need for a grist mill. There was no personal news of any kind, nothing even of deaths or marriages. It seemed to be generally accepted editorial theory that everyone already knew this sort of news. The fascination of seeing one's name in print and reading about the familiar had not yet become apparent.

On the other hand, there was detailed news of a sort that we would not think of carrying today: The list, for instance, of uncalled-for mail in the local post office. Sometimes as many as 150 letters were listed. There was also a schedule of mail deliveries which, incidentally, is revealing. Mail was brought from Springfield to Bloomington twice a week, leaving Springfield at 7:00 A.M. and arriving Bloomington at 5:00 P.M. the *next day,* a matter of thirty-four hours. From Bloomington to Chicago the mail went only *once* each week – the Chicago route, apparently, not being so important.

Among professional notices carried in the *Observer and Advocate* was the card of Stephen A. Douglas. The name was spelled D-o-u-g-l-a-s-s – not a typographical error for he spelled it both ways himself. Douglas, you will recall, was then prosecuting attorney of the first judicial circuit, having been appointed to that position at the tender age of twenty-one, and only nine months after his admission to the Illinois bar.

Since a tablet was recently (October 26, 1957) dedicated to Douglas in the McLean County Courthouse, I'd like to digress for a moment to tell a story about him for which I am indebted to Harold Sinclair. It seems that Douglas

knew next to nothing about the duties of prosecutor and, in drawing his first batch of indictments returned by a McLean County grand jury, he spelled McLean M-c-C-L-E-A-N on every one of them. Whereupon John Stuart of Springfield, although personally concerned with only a couple of the indictments, went before Judge Stephen T. Logan and asked that *all* indictments be quashed on the ground that there was no such county in Illinois. Douglas had worked all night preparing for trial and was thunderstruck. He wrote afterward that he never doubted that the more experienced Stuart was right or else Stuart wouldn't have made the motion. Judge Logan, probably enjoying the situation, asked Douglas in effect, how now? Whereupon Douglas, acting a good deal bolder than he probably felt, said that the burden of proof was on Stuart. The judge agreed and ordered Stuart to prove his point. It took Stuart two days to turn up a copy of the County Enabling Act (that was indeed a primitive world, for the McLean County Courthouse didn't even contain a copy of the statute which created it). But when the copy was found, lo and behold, the name of the county was spelled just as Douglas had written it – M-c-C-L-E-A-N. Thus did the future Little Giant win his first point.

Editor Hill announced regularly that the *Observer* office did all kinds of printing and that business was urgently solicited. This is a good reminder that all early newspapers were adjuncts of job printing shops. The job shop supported the paper, which was usually a losing venture. This continued to be true here in central Illinois for at least another fifty years after the birth of the *Observer and Advocate.*

The advertising rate sounds reasonable but was actually fairly high considering the circulation, or lack thereof. It

was $1.00 per column inch for three insertions. There is no record of the paper's circulation but it is probable that it never exceeded 300 and more than likely was less than that.

Fell's intentions in starting the *Observer* were good but his timing was bad. The panic of 1837, which had been spreading across the land, hit Bloomington hard by 1839. In that year the paper quietly folded and McLean County was once more without either an "Observer" or an "Advocate."

It was six years before any one had the temerity to start another paper in McLean County. In 1845, an obscure R. B. Mitchell began a paper called the *McLean Register.* Although a dozen sources mention this publication, there seem to be only a very few copies in existence now. It failed in less than a year and is notable only because it was backed financially by Charles P. Merriman, who now comes on the scene as the second of those four most noteworthy men of McLean County's first one hundred years of newspapering.

Merriman was a Canadian by birth. Born in Lower Canada, now Quebec, he was a schoolmaster both by training and inclination. He attended a Roman Catholic College in Montreal and studied further at the Academy in Newbury, Vermont. Later he opened a private school of his own in Atlanta, Georgia. Apparently the intellectual atmosphere of Atlanta was not much to his taste and he came west to Bloomington in 1844, where he started a private school for girls.

To me it's more than coincidence that all four of what I would call the "greats" of the early years of local newspaper history started as school teachers and had a lifelong

interest in education. Jesse Fell's first job in Illinois was teaching a private school for the William Brown family near Delavan in the winter of 1832-1833. He spent most of his life pushing for free public schools and better higher education. He donated the land for the campus of Illinois State Normal University and his name is inextricably intertwined with the growth of that institution. The other two "greats," Edward J. Lewis and W. O. Davis, likewise started as teachers – but more of them later.

When Merriman backed Mitchell's *Register* and then it failed in the autumn of 1846 he had to take the paper over. Being in politics an ardent Whig, he promptly changed the name to *The Western Whig.* It is this paper from which the *Pantagraph* dates its continuous publication. In fact, it was Merriman who, seven years later – in 1853 – changed the name to the *Pantagraph.* At that time he became disgruntled with the Whig Party for not opposing the Democrats strongly enough, and, being something of a Greek scholar, he decided to give his newspaper a really unique name. "Panta" is the neuter accusative plural of the Greek adjunct "Pas" and "graph" is from the Greek verb "grapho," here used in the imperative mood, meaning write. Hence the name means write – or report – all things. Merriman thought of it as a perpetual injunction upon its editors to dip their pens fearlessly into all matters of human interest.

Merriman had many struggles and personal misfortunes. He was completely wiped out by fire in 1855. By financial standards he was not a success but his imprint on early newspapering is clear cut. He was the prototype of the earnest, honest, struggling early editor.

The early editor, by the way, was frequently not only a journalist but a general merchant as well. In one issue

of the *Whig* Merriman advertised that he wished to *buy* a ton of beef tallow and a hundred cords of good fire wood. Naturally he had to heat the office. In the same issue he advertised that he had for *sale* a cow, cigars, smoking and chewing tobacco and candy, either by the pound or by the box. Obviously these were things that he had acquired in lieu of cash for his subscriptions and/or advertising.

His subscription list was so small that he couldn't afford to reduce it by simply cutting people off when subscriptions were long past due. But he could exhort them to pay up. This he did in practically every issue, sometimes in a manner calculated to take some of the sting out of his insistence, such as this bit of doggerel:

> He who takes the paper
> And pays his bills when due
> Can live in peace with God and man
> And with the printer too.

Other ads in the *Whig* were much like those in the earlier *Observer.* But here's an unusual one that particularly intrigued me:

> NOTICE *to Members of the Horse Thief Detecting Society* — You are hereby notified that there will be an election held for officers of said Society for the coming year at the Court house in Bloomington on Saturday, 28th instant, etc.

As I mentioned before, Pekin, thirty-five miles west of Bloomington on the Illinois River, was the most important port of entry for all central Illinois. It was also the most important point on the Illinois River between St. Louis and the head of normal navigation at La Salle. East and west through central Illinois the stage roads led to and through Pekin and it was an important transfer point for persons as well as goods. The coming of the railroads stopped Pekin almost dead in its tracks.

Here's an ad in the *Whig* from Pekin:

> HORSE-BOAT FERRY — Travelers and others desiring to cross the Illinois River will find a good horse-boat ferry at Pekin, able and ready at all times to cross all persons and their teams, cattle and so forth. Warranted to land on a good road, clear of the *mud and water on the river bottom.* Attention prompt and charges moderate.

Here's another to indicate the "port of entry" function:

> FOR SALE by H. Meyers, operator of Pekin wharf boat — Alton lime, oysters, cement, salt, sugar, tea, coffee — also agents for American Express Company. Will carry money from Pekin to Boston at the rate of $3.00 per $1000. — To New York at $2.50 per $1000.

Twice before 1850 Merriman had enlarged the *Western Whig* (he didn't change it to *Pantagraph* until 1853) so he must have been getting along all right on his particular system of barter. By then it had grown to approximately present-day newspaper dimensions but was still four pages, of course, as was practically every other paper in the country. With the press equipment then available it simply wasn't practical to handle more than four pages. Usually pages one and four were set up and printed in advance. Then pages two and three were set and printed on publication day. That's the reason that the late, or spot, news (if any) always appeared inside the paper and the front page was generally devoted to advertising.

Not the least of an early editor's troubles was his supply of newsprint. Paper came to Bloomington from the jobbers in St. Louis, 200 miles by steamer and then 35 miles overland by wagon. Sometimes the rivers were icebound and no steamboat could move. Thus the paper supply had to be balanced against transportation difficulties, including roadbeds hub deep in mud or blocked with snow. There was always the problem of money. Most country newspapers were dubious credit risks and had to pay cash. It

was no wonder the editor was always exhorting the subscribers to pay up. He could eat a ham or a bushel of potatoes but these wouldn't buy paper and ink. Merriman had this to say in one issue:

> Owing to a delay in the reception of paper from the river, we have not been able to enlarge the *Whig* this week; and on account of some recent arrangements, we cannot do so before receiving a new and larger press. However, by leaving out all stale and worthless matter and using different size type we shall give a larger amount of reading matter than hitherto.

Along with such problems was the matter of competition. Soon after Merriman started the *Whig,* a competing Democratic paper started called the *Illinois Reveille,* edited by James Shoaff. Politically, of course, the two papers were deadly enemies but in a business way, since both were struggling for existence, they were friendly. They borrowed type, newsprint and supplies – even each other's press – in times of shortage. At least they did until one particular time when the *Whig* ran an extra page edition with the county delinquent tax list. The list was something of an advertising plum and the *Reveille* editor naturally hated to lose it. Now a list such as that contains a very large percentage of numbers and, because it was so long, the *Whig* ran out of the necessary type to finish it. As a matter of course Merriman applied to the *Reveille* for a loan, but this time he was flatly turned down. As a result the *Whig* was put to an enormous amount of extra work and trouble and nearly missed the legal publication deadline, in which case the business would have gone to the *Reveille.* Thereupon the *Whig* took time out to run a half-column editorial concerning the low character and dubious morals of certain unnamed Democratic editors, whose personal treachery was on a par with that of the Democratic Party generally!

The ten years from 1845 to 1855 were years of yeasty growth in McLean County. The prairie sod had been broken and farming was turning into a business rather than just a living. The railroads – with the help of men like Fell, Davis, Gridley and others – were being built, with thousands of Irishmen imported from the old country to build them. Bloomington had about 800 people in 1845 and *double* that number by 1850. From 1850 to 1855, the population had *tripled again* to a bustling city of 5,000. And yet until 1854 there was only *one* city marshal to enforce the law and preserve the peace – and in addition the marshal also doubled as street commissioner!

Perhaps the marshal was at a street meeting when Editor Merriman wrote the following editorial:

DECENCY.

> Are there no means by which these infernal noises in the streets of this town at night can be prevented from interrupting the studies of the scholar, the calculations of the business man, the sleep of the weary, the reflections of the thoughtful, the momentary quiet of the sick, the devotions of the religious and bringing shame and disgrace on the place in the eyes of strangers? Is there no efficiency in the town corporation . . . etc?

In 1851 Jesse Fell came back into the *Western Whig* as editor, with Merriman as assistant editor. The name of the paper was changed to the *Intelligencer* (before the final change to the *Pantagraph* two years later). This change doubtless marked the beginning of that disaffection with the Whig Party which led these two men to become leaders in the revolt in the anti-Nebraska convention of 1856.

The return of Fell's hand at the helm was quickly apparent. He renewed his campaign for popular education, for prohibition (there were then more taverns in the town than grocery stores), for firefighting equipment and other

town improvements. The town had no sidewalks, no sewers, not a block of any kind of pavement, and Fell beat his drum continuously about these lacks.

In 1853 Bloomington and McLean County went wild. At last the railroads had arrived from both directions and the town was the hub of modern, fast transportation. Think of it! Instead of taking four or five days from St. Louis to Chicago by steamboat or stage, here's how you could travel in the autumn of 1853: A shuttle steamboat from St. Louis to Alton (there was, of course, no bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis until 1874 and the packet *Altona* held the record for this trip of 30 miles in one hour and 35 minutes). From Alton to Bloomington you traveled on the Chicago and Mississippi Railroad (later to become the Chicago & Alton). At Bloomington you rode across town in a horse-drawn omnibus to the Illinois Central station which was where it is now on East Washington Street. There you took an Illinois Central train to La Salle. From La Salle you rode to Joliet and on to Chicago on the Rock Island Railroad. You could do the whole thing in two days – or at least you could if none of the engines broke down. The horse-drawn stage and the steamboats were much more reliable.

In 1856 the dissension in the ranks of the Whig Party was rapidly coming to a boil and in the early spring there developed that almost spontaneous upheaval which created the Republican Party as a going concern in Illinois. Fell and Merriman were very much in the forefront. On May 8 they published at the head of the *Pantagraph's* editorial column a notice signed by several local men calling for an anti-Nebraska mass meeting at the courthouse on the night of May 17. The purpose of the meeting was to

name delegates to an anti-Nebraska state convention, also to be held in Bloomington on May 29. The editorial pointed out that the Whig Party was on its last legs and suggested that if a new party was to come out of this it should be called "Republican." This was not the first time the suggestion had been made but it is a fact that this newest organization to call itself Republican was the first one to accomplish anything tangible in the political sense, and the later national organization grew out of it.

At the McLean County convention it was Jesse Fell who nominated Lincoln for the United States Senate, with this peroration:

> That the Honorable Abraham Lincoln is our first, last and only choice for the vacancy soon to occur in the United States Senate; and that, despite all influence at home and abroad, domestic or foreign, the Republicans of Illinois, as with the voice of one man, are unalterably so resolved, to the end that we may have a *big* man with a *big* heart and a *big* mind to represent our *big* state!

And that night on the low-ceilinged, crowded second floor of Major's Hall (the same room, incidentally, where the first classes of Illinois State Normal University were to be held one year later) Lincoln made his famous "Lost Speech." This is how Merriman reported it in the next issue of the *Pantagraph :*

> Several most heart-stirring and powerful speeches were made during the convention; but without being invidious, that of Mr. Lincoln, on Thursday evening, surpassed all others, even himself. His points were unanswerable and the force and power of his appeal irresistible — and were received by storms of applause.

No wonder the speech was lost with that kind of reporting. Not one quotation, you will note, or even an attempt to digest his remarks. For some reason that sort of reporting was the fashion of the day.

The year 1856 brought the third of our nineteenth-century editorial "greats" to the scene in the person of Edward J. Lewis. Lewis was one of the many young Pennsylvania Quakers who were attracted to Illinois through the influence of Jesse Fell. He succeeded Merriman in the fall of 1856. Fell, in the meantime, had sold his interest in the paper temporarily and was devoting himself to his land dealings and other interests.

It was Lewis who launched the first issue of the *Daily Pantagraph* on February 4, 1857. The new daily was roughly present-day tabloid size with four pages. In the beginning it was made up in the British manner, with the front page given entirely to advertising, including the publisher's card and the advertising and subscription rates. Otherwise the arrangement was the same as that of the weekly which was continued well into the twentieth century. The price of the daily was 12½ cents per week – the bit piece was still in common use – payable to the carrier, or $6.00 per year in advance. It went to press and was delivered in the early morning hours.

The *Pantagraph* now had a direct telegraph wire and naturally published a much larger amount of national news than formerly. This was one of its chief attractions for many readers though one irate subscriber wrote the editor that he took the daily only for the wire news and he didn't like that because he was sure Lewis was slanting it in favor of the Republicans.

Young Lewis, then only twenty-five, was an editorial beaver. With both a daily and a weekly to edit, he had a terrific editorial load. Day after day he turned out his editorial matter, handwritten and, of course, handset, and there were times when his daily output ran to more than

3,000 words. In addition he had to keep up with what was going on in the world, no small chore in itself. He also handled the telegraph news and the makeup of both papers. He apparently had only one assistant helping him gather the news.

Also, he had competition – plenty of it. A strong Democratic weekly, the *Times,* was started about this time by the Snow brothers from Kentucky. Its leanings were with the South on the slavery issue and, as the war drew near, it was called Copperhead. Local public feeling became so high that a group of citizens, led by Isaac Funk, actually threw its press and equipment into the street. (This was from its office on the west side of the square where the Osco Drug Store now stands.)

Other competition was not disposed of so easily. Soon there came the *Daily Leader* and in the second half of the century there were usually two dailies, three or four weeklies and sometimes a separate Sunday paper. When you count them all they add up to that figure of 140 I mentioned in the first paragraph.

One of the events covered by Lewis that first fall of 1857 was the opening of Illinois State Normal University. He wrote about it with relish, for his colleague, Fell, had been so largely instrumental in its establishment.

Fell's part in the founding of I.S.N.U. has been told many times and I'll not attempt to retell it all here. He made many trips to Springfield to urge its location upon the legislature. He gave $2,000 of his own funds in cash, $7,500 more in land, and was head of the committee which raised the rest of the money. An even finer contribution, I like to think, was the one he made after Old Main was built. Normal was then a bare plain and in the years immediately

following, Fell is credited with having planted more than 13,000 trees both on the campus and in the area surrounding it. At one time the campus itself is supposed to have had at least one example of every American tree. He personally looked after those trees until he died.

War clouds were gathering and there was lots of news. In the next year, 1858, came the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Lewis covered them in great detail. Carl Sandburg has pointed out that several New York papers carried the text of Lincoln's Cooper Union speech of 1860 in full. So they did, but the little *Pantagraph* also printed it in full. It occupied almost the entire front page in a March issue of that year. So you can see how far Lewis had brought the *Pantagraph's* reporting since the few lines given to the "Lost Speech" of 1856.

In the election of 1860 the *Pantagraph* was stanchly for Lincoln, and he carried the county handily, 3,553 to 2,568 for Douglas. But it is notable that Lincoln didn't swamp Douglas in Illinois that year. He carried the state by a mere 1,200 votes.

When war came in 1861, Lewis, in spite of his Quaker background, joined the Thirty-third Illinois Volunteer Infantry. The unit was known as the "Schoolmaster's Regiment" because it was commanded by Colonel Charles E. Hovey, first president of the Normal University. Lewis became a First Lieutenant in Company C, which was composed almost entirely of students from the University who had enlisted en masse. He spent more than four years in the army and reported news of the regiment almost daily – from the bloody hell of Shiloh and Pittsburg Landing, to the assault on Vicksburg. Edward Lewis was discharged as Captain of Company C.

In contrast to the serious news of the war, here is a piece of domestic news that appeared in the *Pantagraph* of 1862. The paper and its editors were anti-alcohol and this piece seems to be *just slightly* editorialized:

> We yesterday were witnesses to one of those sights which often impresses with the goodness and godliness of woman in all circumstances. Poor, unfortunate, drunken, beastly Tom Carpenter was being kindly and carefully conducted home by the worn-out in everything but spirit woman, his wife. With the poor, drunken and disgraced creature upon her arm, she passed on through the crowded streets, carefully guarding his tottering footsteps. What cared she for the disgrace, for the jibes and stares of the crowded street? He was to her all and all, the loved one nestling away in her bruised heart like an image in a poet's dream. Such is woman, first in all acts of mercy, as she was first at the sepulchre!

Then, after the war, when the town was getting back to normal, the police courts were as busy as ever and the paper was reporting things like this:

> CHARLES LEWIS, the black hearted black man who stole $100 from an almost dead man the other day, has been sentenced to five years in the penitentiary. He was tried by the Grand Jury Tuesday forenoon, was called for trial before the court, plead guilty, and was sentenced before dinner.

There's justice for you – for in those days dinner was eaten at noon. And finally there is this item:

> CLEANED OUT — Those who have occasion to deal along the south side of the square will rejoice that "them" liquor shops on that side have been closed during the last few days. The saloon under Heilburn's, the one over Capen's and the Soldiers Retreat under Livingston's dry goods store, have all stopped business. These were all very *hard* institutions. The Soldiers Retreat was so disgusting that Livingston's rented the basement and has now barred the entrance, preferring to pay the rent rather than to be annoyed by the drunken orgies below.

In 1868 there appears our fourth journalistic "great." He is William Osborne Davis, who really built the modern-

day *Pantagraph* and was to become its sole proprietor for more than forty years.

Young Davis, another Quaker boy from Pennsylvania, had come to Normal in 1858 to teach Jesse Fell's private school for Fell's seven children and their neighbors. He ended by marrying one of the Fell daughters and becoming his father-in-law's clerk when the latter became a paymaster during the Civil War. He tried his hand at farming after the War and in 1868 formed a three-way partnership with Fell and John P. Taylor to purchase the *Pantagraph.* Incidentally, it was their first intention to start a paper in Normal and Taylor had already brought to Normal press equipment worth about $10,000 – a lot of money in those days – when it was discovered that the *Pantagraph* was for sale.

Their division of duties was : Fell, editor; Taylor as production manager; and Davis as business manager. As a newspaperman, Davis turned out to be a complete natural. Within two years he had bought out the other two and was launched on the forty-year career that ended with his death just before World War I. The daily had about 600 circulation when he bought it and the weekly had about 800. When he died the daily was up to 14,000 audited circulation while the weekly, kept alive mainly for sentimental reasons, still had 2,000 subscribers.

Davis was the first newspaper publisher who really dug in to outlast the competition. Up to this time all the papers published in the county had been strictly party organs. Davis, though a stanch Republican, turned the *Pantagraph* into a community newspaper *first* and a Republican exponent *last.* Furthermore, he early dreamed of separating the newspaper and the job printing business. This he did

as soon as the newspaper was financially able to stand on its own feet.

Edward Lewis stayed on with Davis for eleven years. In 1879 he left to become Normal's postmaster. Within five years after W. O. Davis took over sole ownership from Fell and Taylor, he moved the paper into its own building on the same site where the present building stands. He was first with every innovation from the rotary press to the Linotype machine. He helped found the first Farm Bureau and was the first to employ a full-time farm editor. He anticipated the impact of rural free delivery on farmers' reading habits and, when R.F.D. became a fact, he offered free mailboxes to every farmer in the county and beyond. He thus built up a rural and small town circulation – *and kept it by covering the news of all central Illinois* – which is still the pride of his successors.

In 1930, twenty years after he died, the Illinois Press Association ranked Davis among the first eight men in the Illinois Journalistic Hall of Fame, whose busts are in the School of Journalism at the University of Illinois. With him are such men as Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune,* Victor Lawson and Melville Stone of the *Chicago Daily News,* E. W. Scripps, founder of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, and Elijah Parish Lovejoy, the martyred abolitionist editor of Alton.

Davis was the last of our early newspaper "greats." His death, in May, 1911, came just two months before the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Jesse Fell's *Observer and Advocate.* The lives of these men – together with those of Merriman and Lewis – are the very bone and sinew of our newspaper history in McLean County.

WILLIAM C. SEARLES

Governor Cullom and the Pekin Whisky Ring Scandal

William C. Searles is at present teaching Spanish and world history in the high school at Litchfield, Illinois. He is a graduate of the University of Illinois and expects to receive his M. A. degree in American history from Southern Illinois University this year.

Little Boy Blu, come blow your horn,
The sheep's in the meadow, the cow's in the corn;
Where's the boy who watches the sheep?
Under the whisky ring drunk and asleep.

THE DEMOCRATIC press was aroused. It had unearthed the most explosive scandal of the 1876 election campaign in Illinois and was making the most of it. Party leaders claimed that Bluford Wilson of Springfield, former United States district attorney and solicitor for the Treasury Department, was holding secret information that would most certainly lead to the defeat of the Republicans, but would not release it. He was begged, coaxed and cajoled throughout the summer by such newspapers as the *Illinois State Register* of Springfield, belligerently Democratic, which printed remarks including the doggerel above and others such as: "It's a pity Bluford Wilson won't tell about the Harper-Smith defalcation. An exposure of all the facts would simplify the campaign in this state mightily."[1]

1. *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], Aug. 1, 4, 1876. "Blu" was not a misprint but Bluford Wilson's nickname.

Both parties might well have cried for a clear-eyed view of the post-Civil-War political picture. It was a season darkened by a foul smog drifting northward from the smoldering dump heap of reconstruction politics to contaminate the source of its creation. It left behind an unsavory record, which recent news events show to be still remembered. In Illinois it was a year of continuing industrial depression, a prolongation of the Panic of 1873. One may infer from contemporary newspaper accounts that street-corner talk among the scores of unemployed idlers in the state capital was of the political knavery common in high places, of the infamous Whisky Ring scandals in St. Louis and Illinois, of the blunders of the incompetent ex-soldier President, and of the hard times in general.

For the Honorable Shelby Moore Cullom of the Illinois House of Representatives, it was a crucial year. He who desired to be, and was to become, one of the state's most capable governors, and who was subsequently to spend thirty uninterrupted years in the United States Senate, might have had his political life abruptly ended then and there. The combination of economic depression and exposures of political corruption nationally had weakened the Republican position, and the accusation of his complicity in the whisky frauds at Pekin came near costing him and the Illinois Republican ticket the election.[2]

2. No definitive appraisal of Cullom's exceptional career has yet been written. The *Dictionary of American Biography* says, "In view of these facts [his achievements] it is remarkable how slight a trace he leaves in the biographies and memoirs of his leading contemporaries." His personal, autobiographical reminiscences are contained in his book *Fifty Years of Public Service: Personal Recollections of Shelby M. Cullom, Senior Senator from Illinois* (Chicago, 1911). The best, if not wholly objective, account of his life, is Henry A. Converse, "The Life and Services of Shelby M. Cullom," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1914,* 55-79. See also William A. Pitkin, "Shelby M. Cullom: Presidential Prospect," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.,* XLIX (Winter, 1956), 375-86.

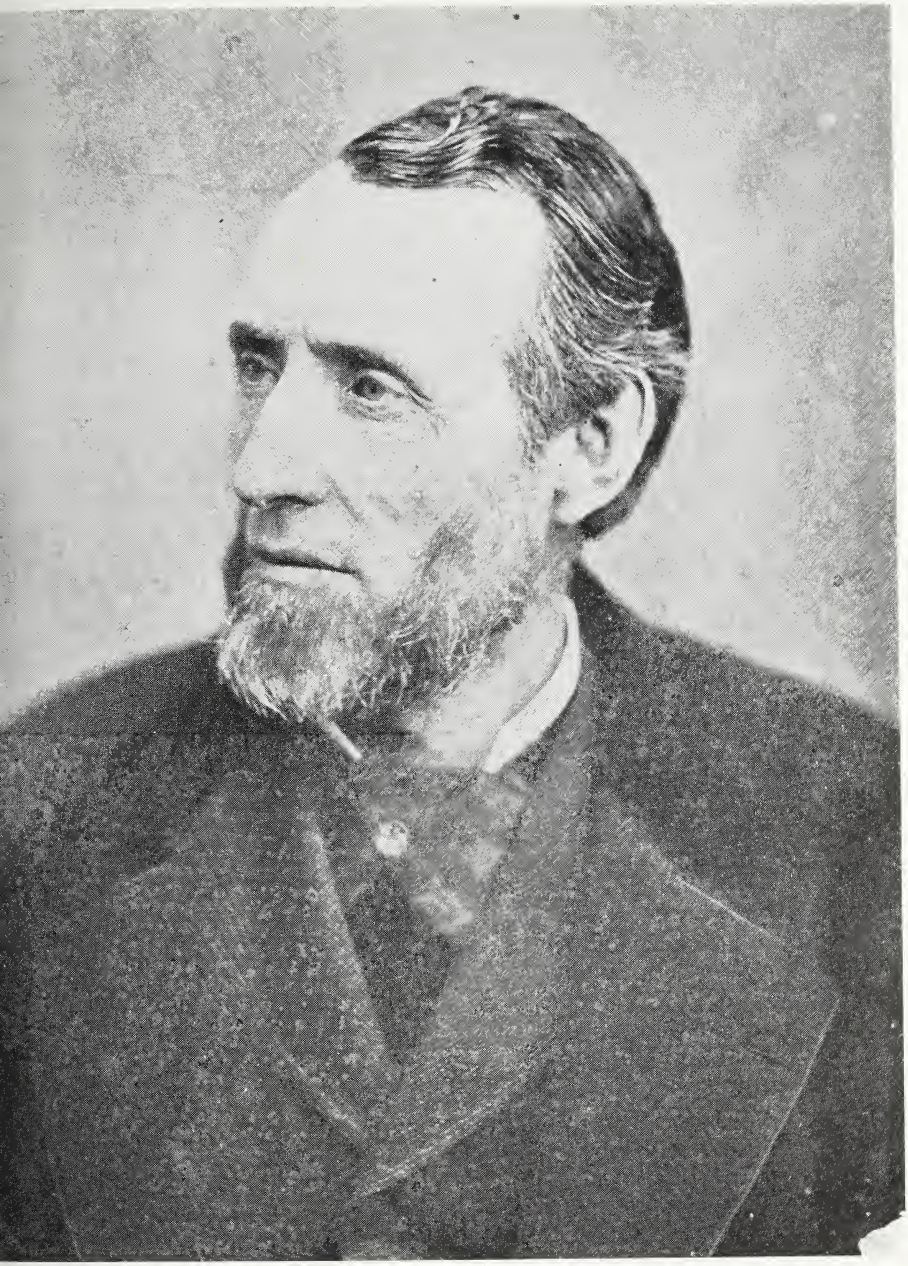
Slander and character defamation were standard weapons in nineteenth-century political campaigns. It is not possible to measure the whisky scandal's retarding effect on Cullom's rise to the governorship, but there can be no doubt of its deserving notice at length. Briefly summarized, these are the facts in the Pekin Whisky Ring or Harper-Smith scandal:

John T. Harper was a United States collector of revenue whose office was in Springfield. He was one of scores of political appointees, former soldiers in the Civil War, who found lucrative positions in public office afterward.[3] He was favorably regarded by the press at the time of his appointment, an attorney at El Paso, Illinois, "of unblemished and unquestionable integrity, and of business qualifications eminently fitting him for the efficient discharge of the office."[4] His personal reputation was such that friends in his home county became his sureties to the amount of $210,000.[5]

Some time after his duties began, it became evident that his qualifications were not, as a matter of fact, so high as rated. A Chicago newspaper reported that he was of an "easy-going disposition" rather than businesslike, that he allowed distilling firms to fall behind in revenue payments, that his health often led him to place his duties in the hands of deputies, and that one of these had defaulted, leaving him responsible for a sum of $15,000, which he had made good by borrowing from a brother.[6]

Then unexpectedly, in the first week of September, 1873, the news broke that Collector Harper had fled the country in secret, probably on August 29 when he was last seen in

3. *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], Sept. 6, 1873.
4. *Bloomington Pantagraph,* Sept. 6, 1873.
5. *Ill. State Jour.* Sept. 5, 1873.
6. *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* Sept. 6, 10, 1873.



Shelby M. Cullom (about 1886)

Springfield boarding the noon train going north, leaving behind a written statement of shortages in the accounts amounting to over $100,000. Albert Smith, a chief clerk of the collector's office, produced Harper's statement; but oddly, he went to Washington to reveal it first to the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, which gave the defaulter plenty of time to get away.[7] Federal investigating officers found that the clerk was using the Harper statement as a "confession," attempting to place all the blame on the missing collector and to distract attention from the certainty that he, as chief bookkeeper, must have had guilty knowledge of what was transpiring.[8] At any rate, it was assumed that Harper had gone to contemplate the beauties of Niagara Falls from a safer observation point on the Canadian side.[9]

United States Attorney Bluford Wilson hunted out further documentary evidence to prove Harper's confession. This evidence included account books of the liquor manufacturers, and the collector's records showing how, when and where any agreements or questionable deals involving the revenue had taken place. Wilson got from Smith the information that Harper's shortages ran as far back as 1870, and Smith's knowledge of them to June, 1873, when the shortage was $46,000. Wilson obtained a warrant for Smith's arrest. He was released on $50,000 bail. It was found that Harper had become involved in private speculation in which he had lost heavily, and that he had used the

7. *Ill. State Jour.,* Sept. 5, 1873.

8. The *Ill. State Reg.* charged that the Pekin distillers had purchased Smith's silence for $10,000 per year when he found that they and Harper were collaborating to defraud the government. It also charged that Smith forced Harper to write out a bill of particulars so that he (Smith) might clear himself. *Ill. State Reg.,* March 6, 31, 1876. The *Inter-Ocean* of Sept. 18, 1873, recorded a rumor that Smith had obtained the confession at pistol point.

9. *Ill. State Jour.,* Sept. 8, 1873.

revenue collections to pay his debts. It is evident that he had never been able to catch up, and was helplessly borrowing from banks each month to settle the government accounts, paying the loan with the following month's collections, and repeating the cycle continuously.[10]

The newspapers were full of speculation on the subject for many days after the shortage was discovered. They heaped high a complex tangle of rumor and fact, from which it would be, at this late date, impossible to extract the complete, true story. Harper's personal and domestic life was discussed; questionable stories were printed involving the exchange of packages of money; speculation was offered as to the amount he took with him when he left the country; and methods of collusion between Harper and the distillers were bared. The deputy collector of internal revenue in Springfield was instructed to offer a reward of $1,000 upon conviction for the capture of the runaway. The official count put the size of the shortage at $106,198.60.[11]

When the election year of 1876 rolled around – three years later – Harper and Smith had been indicted, but not yet brought to trial because of repeated continuances. The Democrats hinted that prominent Republicans were delaying the whole affair for political reasons, and spread the word throughout the few weeks before the Republican state convention was to gather that Cullom was seriously involved. They claimed Smith had written a confession which implicated the men most likely to be nominated at the convention. These vague reports made no definite accusations, but stated that details would shortly be made public, and that the Republican Party had better start to think-

10. *Ill. State Reg.*, April 5, Aug. 14, 1876; *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Sept. 11, 1873.

11. *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 9, 13, 15, 1873; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Sept. 20, 1873.

ing of someone as a substitute candidate for governor.[12]

The Republican convention was scheduled for May; the Harper trial was to be in the United States Circuit Court in June, and Democrats reminded the voters that there would be a clarification of the situation then. The following cleverly written comment shows the effect that they hoped to make:

> All good republicans unite in cursing Smith, but after the maledictions are over, they diverge widely. All supporters of [Governor John L.] Beveridge hint that "Cullom was in it," while the Cullomites declare that "Cullom is no more guilty than Beveridge," and the supporters of Tom Ridgway [state treasurer] roll up their eyes and say that the way Ridgway has managed the state finances shows that he, at least, is clear of all complicity with the affair. Having thus relieved their several minds, they unite again in a grand attack on [Elihu B.] Washburne, [Benjamin H.] Bristow and Bluford Wilson.[13]

Other than to deny any guilt, the Republicans generally were non-committal, and this was used by the opposition as a sign of certain guilt. The Democratic press played upon the supposed fact that their silence would ruin Cullom's chances. On the eve of the state convention the *Register* admitted that Cullom was the strongest candidate for the nomination, but it expressed the opinion that the promised delegates would not stand by their instructions because of fear of the effect of the Smith confession, which might be brought to light at any time. "For fear of this document, the delegates are very generally considering who should be their second choice."[14]

The convention in Springfield on May 24, nevertheless, nominated Cullom on the first ballot. Then the Democrats began to say that, as soon as the Smith confession became public gossip, he was a beaten man; or, they added, if it

12. *Ill. State Jour.*, April 27, 1876; *Ill. State Reg.*, May 23, 1876.
13. *Ibid.*, April 4, May 25, 1876.
14. *Ibid.*, May 2, 23, 1876

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were not revealed, that would indeed be a sure sign that it contained something too dangerous for Republicans to allow in print. Such remarks may have been based on the fact that Cullom was one of the signers of Smith's bail bond in 1873. A newspaper article of that year seems to present him also as defense counsel for the Pekin distillers who were arrested in the general sweep of those involved.[15]

Cullom probably could have ignored implications from his opponents, but it must have been a great blow to him to find that members of his own party were using the scandal against him. The supporters of Governor Beveridge, who was seeking renomination, had without his knowledge concocted a scheme to spring on the convention a series of charges against Cullom, and to shout, "Not guilty!" whenever Cullom's name was mentioned. Cullom backers were ready for the expected attack, and, had it developed, the convention might have become a lively scene.[16]

The opposition said that Cullom was trembling lest some secret should come out to deny him the governorship, and even reported that he had withdrawn his name because of fear of exposure. It is more in keeping with his general traits of character to assume that he considered the whole matter too base to merit an answer until the mounting clamor forced him to speak. When Cullom found that some of his own party were questioning his honesty, he became "almost majestic" in his anger. He was so stirred up and pugnacious about it that close friends who knew him best were astounded at his conduct.[17]

15. *Ibid.,* May 27, 1876; *Ill. State Jour.,* Sept. 10, 1873, May 25, 1876; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* Sept. 15, 1873.

16. Converse, "Cullom," 61; *Chicago Tribune,* May 26, 1876; *Ill. State Reg.,* May 23, 1876.

17. *Ibid.,* May 25, 1876; *Chicago Tribune,* Aug. 4, 1876; *Ill. State Jour.,* Aug. 7, 1876; Converse, "Cullom," 62.

The snowballing rumor grew so disturbing at last to the state central committee that Cullom was called before it to answer the allegation. He gave satisfaction, and later in a newspaper interview denied ever belonging to a whisky ring, ever cheating the government, or assisting Harper to defraud.[18] The following card was published in a Chicago paper and copied by others:

> Charges and insinuations in different forms having been made in some of the newspapers of the state, implicating me in some manner with the alleged defalcation of John T. Harper, and also with the whisky frauds at Pekin, Ill., I desire to brand all such charges and insinuations as false and calumnious, and to assure my personal and political friends that they need have no apprehension that any credible evidence can or will be produced showing culpable connection on my part with these transactions.[19]

In answer to this, the *Register* printed, under the head "CULLOM AND WHISKY," a column and a half of correspondence between the Honorable Leander Jay S. Turney of Edgewood, Illinois, and Colonel Thomas G. C. Davis of St. Louis, a former member of the Illinois legislature. Turney asked Davis for his opinion of Cullom's statement, and reported his disgust with Republican officeholders in general, along with his inability to vote "rebel" (Democratic). Davis replied that, while he did not know Cullom personally, and was not well enough informed to attack or to defend him,

> The card seems to be wanting in that directness and fullness of denial which a conscious sense of entire innocence of the charges made against Mr. Cullom would seem to require. . . . It might have been more satisfactory to the friends of Mr. Cullom if he had positively asserted, not only his innocence, but also the non-existence of any evidence, credible or incredible, connecting him in any way, innocently or culpably, with the crimes imputed.[20]

18. *Ibid.*, 61; *Ill. State Jour.*, May 1, 1876.

19. *Chicago Evening Journal*, May 19, 1876, as quoted in *Ill. State Reg.*, July 12, 1876.

20. *Ill. State Reg.*, July 12, 1876.

The *Chicago Tribune,* however, commented that Cullom's denial should be accepted as final, for no one could know any better than he that, if he were hiding something, it would eventually come out and ruin him for life, and that the state committee would immediately meet to name someone to take his place on the ticket.[21]

After the state convention, the *Register* commented, under the heading "THE WINNING RING," that the nominees were "old friends of the whisky ring. . . . The first on the list is Shelby M. Cullom, . . . whose connection with the Pekin ring is one of the facts of current history."[22]

Democrats were eagerly awaiting the outcome of the June session of the federal court, when Harper and Smith were to be tried, but it was announced that on June 20—seven days before the day set for the trial—the court would be adjourned for lack of funds to pay the jurors. This was instantly greeted with an outraged howl of suspicion by the Democrats. They blamed the Republican Party directly, for the Democratic United States House of Representatives had passed a deficiency bill on April 12 which would have taken care of the court's expenses, but it was delayed in the Republican-dominated Senate until too late to be of any use in Springfield. The *Register* commented:

> The republicans have an abundance of money to spend for torchlight processions, uniforms and other campaign expenses, but there was no money at the late term of the United States court to pay a jury to try the indicted members of the whisky ring or republican defaulters.[23]

These circumstances made sure that the complexities of the Harper-Smith case would not be public in time for use as election propaganda, for the fall court session had been called for chancery cases only, with no jury. Thus the

21. *Ill. State Jour.,* May 22, 1876.
22. *Ill. State Reg.,* May 31, 1876.
23. *Ibid.,* June 13, Aug. 23, 25, 1876.

whisky ring trial was postponed until January, 1877, "in order," as the Democrats charged, "to protect the Republican state ticket of Illinois from the damaging revelations that a trial would bring out."[24]

Bluford Wilson, while an official of the Treasury Department, had steadfastly maintained his silence in the face of Democratic demands for the evidence. One reporter in 1873 quoted him as saying that publication of the contents of the Smith papers would work against the interest of the government in the prosecution of the case, by premature exhibition of evidence the defendants would have to meet.[25]

In August, 1876, however, it appeared that Wilson had changed his mind and had used the so-called confession to further his own political interests. A Washington news item claimed that he was attempting to defame Cullom, a strong supporter of James G. Blaine for the presidential nomination, because he had refused to use his powerful influence to promote the cause of Wilson's choice, Benjamin H. Bristow.[26]

The item went on to say that Wilson had offered to delay the Harper and Smith trials until after the election in exchange for Cullom's support of Bristow, and that Cullom had spurned the offer. The writer had gone to Wilson's office to examine for himself the papers containing Smith's statements. He was allowed to see them on condition that he was not to use the contents in print nor to allude to them;

24. *Ibid.,* July 5, 1876; *Ill. State Jour.,* Aug. 25, 1876.

25. *Ibid.,* Sept. 12, 1873.

26. Bristow was a candidate for nomination at the Republican national convention of 1876. His chief claim to prominence had been his vigorous action as United States Solicitor General in shattering the St. Louis whisky ring. Out of 176 indictments he secured 110 convictions. He was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in 1874, but was forced to resign because of jealousies among the swarm of President Ulysses S. Grant's ill-advisers who, according to the *Dict. Amer. Biog.,* poisoned the President's mind again him.

But, despite his promise, he proceeded to tell that there was nothing there which would implicate Cullom in any way. Cullom was a stockholder and nominal president of the State National Bank of Springfield, where Harper kept the government deposits. The collector frequently borrowed money, as already noted, with the bank as indorser. A Chicago paper carried a story that Harper and Cullom had gone to the bank vault at midnight to transfer money into Harper's personal account to save the bank from loss, Cullom knowing that it was the government revenue being handed to him by a thief. Wilson was said to have admitted that, while an unwritten statement of Smith's confirming this information was the only link between Cullom and Harper, he believed that it was true and that the gubernatorial candidate had guilty knowledge that the collector was using the revenue collections to cover his private debts.[27]

When Wilson failed in his attempt to blackmail Cullom with the Bristow proposition, he went to Senator Richard J. Oglesby and Representative Greenbury L. Fort, on the day before the Republican state convention, warning them against nominating their friend. He stated that he would delay the trial in exchange for support for Bristow, and they, too, refused him. Smarting from the double rebuff, Wilson then gave the Democratic newspapers copies of the Smith confession along with his own verbal insinuations, possibly in a spirit of pique, about the governor-to-be.[28]

Cullom and Wilson had been friends before the Harper affair, and, while the friendship may have been strained in this strongly-contested election, several years later Cullom wrote of having great pleasure traveling through Europe

27. *Ill. State Reg.*, Aug. 14, 1876; *Chicago Tribune*, April 29, 1876.
28. *Ill. State Reg.*, Aug. 14, 1876.

with another senator and "Bluford Wilson, a particularly devoted friend," and in the 1890's Wilson referred to Cullom as "venerable."[29] In 1879 Wilson was counsel for the defense of some of the same Pekin distillers whom he had prosecuted as United States District Attorney in 1873.[30]

Throughout the months prior to the election of 1876, the *Register,* a most aggressive organ of the Democrats, kept in motion an all-but-continuous parade of reminders to the public that Cullom's record was not beyond question. It is not difficult to imagine the effect of these:

> When a newspaper man addresses a man in Pekin, Ill., he responds: "I presume you want to interview me. I've not been indicted yet, but my partner expects to be in June." . . . . The State National Bank closes promptly at 3 P.M., but Mr. Cullom has a key to the back door. . . . Cullom says he don't care much about religious matters, but he is terribly opposed to the confession. . . . The whisky ringsters of Pekin want to bet that Cullom will be elected. . . . the crooked whisky Cullom combination. . . . [Samuel J.] Tilden, [Lewis] Steward [Cullom's Democratic opponent] and reform, will make [Rutherford B.] Hayes, Cullom and crooked whisky look sick. . . . Cullom said, in his Decatur speech: "We stand by greenbacks; we could have resumed, but thought it better to pay off our bonded debt; *but I must go!*" These last four words are understood to be a quotation from an address made by John T. Harper just before he left the United States collector's office, the city, the state and the country, in 1873. . . . All the whisky rings support Hayes and Cullom. What honest man wants to vote with that gang?[31]

A charge that, while Cullom was in Congress, he levied and received an assessment of $1,000 per month from the whisky interests of Pekin, admittedly founded only on public gossip, was repeated with the addition of the comment, "Nice man for Governor!" The opposition had already tried to link him directly to the Pekin scandal by circulating

29. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service,* 50; Bluford Wilson, "Southern Illinois in the Civil War," *Trans. Ill. State Hist., Soc., 1911,* p. 100.

30. *Ill. State Reg.,* March 1, 1879.

31. *Ibid.,* March 28, May 23, July 15, 31, Aug. 31, Nov. 4, 1876.

a story claiming that among the papers taken from the offices of the distillers as evidence, there had been "a lot of letters from Cullom that would have broken him completely." These, it was charged, had been stolen by some influential Republicans in January, 1876.[32]

November 7 was voting day. The returns were so slow arriving in Springfield that, in a close race such as this, no one could be sure of the final outcome for several days – or, in the case of the presidency, several months. Democratic vigor had returned far greater results than it had for twenty years – the whisky-ring scandals contributing, along with national disgust at reconstruction methods and the corruptions of the Grant régime – and for a time it seemed that that party had carried Illinois. The Republicans, who had boasted that they would win by 40,000 votes, found themselves happy to have won at all.[33]

Shelby Moore Cullom became governor of Illinois by the slim margin of 6,834 votes. The whisky-ring accusations did not cut short his political life. After six years as governor, he took his place in the United States Senate in 1883, where he continued in service to the nation until 1913, leaving a record of meritorious achievement. He is best remembered as the founder of our present Interstate Commerce Commission.[34]

As to John T. Harper and Albert Smith: they were granted continuances of their cases for several years, and in the end compromise settlements were made.[35]

32. *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1876, quoting *Pekin Times; Ill. State Jour.*, June 10, 1876.

33. Ernest L. Bogart and Charles M. Thompson, *The Industrial State 1870-1893 (Centennial History of Illinois,* IV), 119-20; *Ill. State Reg.*, Nov. 13, 1876.

34. *Legislative Directory Compiled from Official Records for Use of Members of Thirtieth General Assembly* (Springfield, 1877), 52; *Dict. Amer. Biog.*, III: 55-56.

35. D. W. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians* (Springfield, Ill., 1883), 372.

Albert Nelson Marquis, founder of Who's Who

WHEELER SAMMONS, JR.

Sixty Years of Who's Who

Some Notes on the History of an Illinois Institution

Wheeler Sammons, Jr., is associate publisher of Who's Who in America *and its supplemental biographical reference dictionaries. He is also a former weekly newspaper editor, member of the Chicago Civil War Round Table, Navy veteran. and a civic leader in his home town, Park Forest.*

> Here in this country no more distinctive recognition can come to an undertaking than to have it generally referred to as an American institution. Run over in your mind those so considered; you will have included the famous big red book, *Who's Who in America.* Certainly when one among those few undertakings which our customs and our usages have combined to rate as an American institution, completes a half century it seems appropriate and fitting that proper notice be given it.
>
> Congressman Emanuel Celler,
> *Congressional Record,* February 16, 1948

IN 1948, James M. Cain, distinguished American author, lent his genius to preface the golden anniversary edition of *Who's Who in America.* What he had to say was lengthy, highly laudatory, and was said well – and with color – as Cain would. Here's how he started out :

> Institutions, if they be actual and not merely nominal, will be found, I think, to possess some element, some simple, pregnant aspect, easily comprehensible to the popular imagination, which sets them off from other members of their class and gives them special status. Harvard University, certainly regarded as a thing apart, is the oldest college we

> have, and thus arouses reverence in the average mind, which probably doesn't know that it is also the richest, and certainly doesn't care that it is possibly, as some think, the wackiest. The late Caruso, not greatly surpassing various contemporaries in style, repertoire, or beauty of voice, could nevertheless sing louder than anybody on earth, and so passed into legend, along with Dan Patch, Babe Ruth, and other living wonders. And *Who's Who in America,* though a gospel, a heresy and a raging polemic in one, and thus potentially suspect, is at the same time a Dun, a Bradstreet, a social register, and a hall of fame, all merged into a grand consolidated national glory highway, and thus unique in the eyes of the American people.

That was ten years ago – when *Who's Who* was fifty years old. Now, this year, *Who's Who* is celebrating its sixtieth anniversary, and, I think I can safely say, has become even more a national institution in the past decade. But the point I want to make is that it – and the company that publishes it – has also been, and for a longer time, a Chicago and an Illinois institution.

Any publisher – or other business, for that matter – which sticks it out, and under some of the pressures I shall detail later, for more than sixty years in the same town can certainly justify a claim to being one of that town's institutions. And when all the personalities most intimately and importantly involved in its founding, growth and continuance hail from that town—and spent almost their entire careers there—the claim surely becomes gilt-edged.

Albert Nelson Marquis, founder of *Who's Who in America,* though born in Ohio, spent the greater part of his long life – he died in 1943 at eighty-eight – as a Chicago publisher, and lived most of that time next door in Evanston. He was once president of the old Hamilton Club of Chicago and active in civic affairs. He actually began his publishing ventures in the early 1880's and among the first recorded publications of A. N. Marquis & Co., as it was then called,

was *Marquis' Handbook of Chicago.* That was shortly followed by a guide to the World's Columbian Exposition. Among other early Marquis books were *Tales of the Klondike, The Marie Burroughs Art Portfolio of Stage Celebrities,* and *Brehms' Life of Animals.* But with the two guide books he had already established his ties with the local scene – no matter how far from it his later publications might stray, even into the publishing of multi-thousand-page biographical dictionaries of international scope.

The first such book was, of course, Volume 1 of *Who's Who in America,* compilation of which began in 1898 leading to the publication the next year of the first edition (or volume) of the "Big Red Book," dated 1899-1900. Incidentally, a point of some interest to bibliophiles is the fact that Volume III was dated 1903-1905, but Volume IV went back to the original two-year basis, starting however with the even-numbered year, 1906. So it was dated 1906-1907, and every two years since then a new edition of *Who's Who in America* has invariably appeared early – usually mid-February or by March 1 – in the even-numbered year of each biennium. This helps explain the odd fact that the new *Who's Who in America,* Volume 30 (1958-1959) is the Sixtieth Anniversary Edition, even though Volume 1 was actually published fifty-nine years ago. In dealing with a book which comes out regularly every two years, there's just no avoiding the fact that Number 30 must mark the sixtieth anniversary, regardless of the dating of Volume I. The present publishers have reconciled themselves to the situation with the knowledge that since Volume 1 was published early in 1899, work on it must have begun in 1898 – if not earlier – and thus settled on 1958 as the sixtieth anniversary of *Who's Who.*

A. N. Marquis and his first editor, John W. Leonard, faced in starting *Who's Who* many of the same problems which plague the present publishers. They indicated them in the Preface to Volume 1. It starts out:

> Whatever may be thought of it in other respects, *Who's Who in America* can with confidence claim for itself the distinction of being something new in American book-making, for while, in its basic idea, it counterparts some well-known foreign publications, it has no American predecessor by which its merits may be judged or its faults condemned. The men who are making the history of the Nation, its States and its municipalities, who are creating American literature, educating the youth of the country, leading its religious, scientific, commercial, social, military, naval, productive and artistic activities, and who are in the innumerable departments of useful and reputable effort most representative of American progress: these are unquestionably the people of whom average American men and women desire to know most. . . . The book is auto-biographical, the data having been obtained from first hands in all save a very few cases, where, persistent effort having failed to elicit personally furnished facts, other sources of information have been used. Even where this has been done the sketch has been submitted for correction and has, in nearly every case, been revised or approved.

The editors encountered many difficulties in selecting the individuals to be included in the First Edition of *Who's Who:*

> A still more numerous class, largely made up of those who had no claim whatever to be mentioned, tried to get into the book, frequently accompanying their requests by the offer of pecuniary inducements. It is needless to say that no attention was paid to these, and that not one line in this volume (outside of legitimate advertising pages) has been paid for. Whatever may be its merits or demerits, *Who's Who in America* can confidently claim the virtue of being honestly and conscientiously compiled. . . . It may, however, be well to state that there has been no effort to make of it a "blue book." It is not wealth or social standing, but rather achievement or public position which have been the criteria in choosing or discarding names. . . . It is a distinctively American array, although many of those mentioned were born abroad and some are foreign subjects. All live or have lived in the

United States, or are so closely identified with American affairs or interests as to be subjects of American inquiry or discussion. Not all now live in this country, for nearly every land is represented in the addresses given, but those located abroad are either native Americans, or are in direct touch with some interest in the United States.

So it will be seen how many of the basic tenets behind the compilation of *Who's Who in America,* and the foundation standards by which it has always been compiled – even to the extent of including non-U.S. residents of reference interest in this country – came into being sixty years ago, to be followed religiously, though frequently up-dated, ever since.

Before leaving the Volume 1 Preface a few of the troubles, not all too serious, of launching a new biographical reference dictionary, which it recounts, might be noted. For instance, not every person approached for data exhibited a friendly spirit. A few complained that they had been victimized by various biographical schemes, which, beginning with an innocent demand for data, usually culminated in a bill for the insertion of the biography and perhaps for a portrait which accompanied it. These, however, were soon convinced by the publishers of the entire absence of any monetary obligations either in the selection of names or the insertion of the personal sketches in the present volume. Some objected that the title chosen for the book was too flippant, but a far larger number commended its pre-eminent fitness; some were afraid that the book would be too exclusive – others that it would place them in a too heterogeneous company. Some sent printed sketches in which their genealogy was traced through pages of small print, and insisted that notices of great length should be reproduced verbatim; others gave the briefest and most unsatisfactory responses. "I am really of no importance – your

dictionary will be better for not including my name," stated a foremost scientist, educator and author. "Do you really invite women to publicly confess their age – and then expect them to commend your book?" queried one distinguished authoress. "Wait until I am dead before you embalm me!" said a noted poetess. Experience has taught us to expect this of the fair sex and in the forthcoming first edition of *Who's Who of American Women* the supplying of birth dates has been made optional.

Some of those legitimately in the book showed an amiable disposition to secure like distinction for their friends. Because of this Marquis and Leonard were able to include many people of worth who might otherwise have been overlooked. But the solicitations also took wider scope. "I think you would do well to include my son, who will graduate from college this year. He is a bright boy, and is sure to make his mark in the world," wrote one man, with parental pride. "I think you make a mistake in confining your book to the living," a widow complained, "my husband was one of the most distinguished men of his profession, and should be included."

Lastly, and obviously pleasing to the present publishers, is this statement from the Preface to Volume 1:

> One distinguished author wrote to say that he had lived several years in France, and that the letter of inquiry had been forwarded from a place where he had not been for twelve years. This, he said, furnished strong proof of the necessity of such a book as *Who's Who in America.*

Marquis' second biographical reference, after he got *Who's Who in America* rolling, gave further evidence of his ties to this locality, for it was entitled *The Book of Chicagoans,* the first edition appearing in 1905. This became a standard Marquis publication, issued at about five-year

Wheeler Sammons, Sr., developer of Who's Who

intervals, and was later expanded, as its revised titles indicate, into *Who's Who in Chicago, Who's Who in Chicago and Vicinity,* and then into *Who's Who in Chicago and Illinois.* It was finally absorbed into *Who's Who in the Midwest,* now published biennially by Marquis-Who's Who, Inc., the successor to A. N. Marquis' original firm.

As the Preface to Volume 1 of *The Book of Chicagoans* states, it "is modeled on the plan of *Who's Who in America,*" which Marquis could even then call – and with justification – "a world famous publication, recognized as the highest authority on personal data pertaining to nationally notable living Americans." As for the Chicago book, it did a good job of covering those Chicagoans of local or regional interest, but not necessarily national figures, and thus set the pattern for the many Marquis sectional biographical references to follow it.

For instance, Richard W. Sears, president, and Julius Rosenwald, vice-president and treasurer, of the then fledgling Sears, Roebuck & Co., both are sketched in *The Book of Chicagoans,* but do not appear in the edition of *Who's Who in America* then current, though of course they both made the grade later. Incidentally, Roebuck had apparently already been forgotten – he appears in nothing – while Sears' local rival – A. Montgomery Ward – had the jump on both Sears and Rosenwald – he appeared in both *The Book of Chicagoans* and the then-current edition of *Who's Who in America.*

Another instance of the local coverage – and, of course, of the way Marquis' regional books have always been sort of "farm teams" for the big book itself – was the later-to-be world famous pediatrician, Isaac Abt. Dr. Abt made *The*

Book of Chicagoans in 1905, but not *Who's Who in America* until several years later. It is also interesting to note that of six Chicago McCormicks in *The Book of Chicagoans,* only two – Cyrus Hall, son of the original, and Andrew Agnew, publisher of the now defunct *Chicago Evening Post* and no relative to the reaper family – were also in the then-current *Who's Who in America.*

Getting back to my original thesis that *Who's Who in America* and its publishers are not only national but, as well, Chicago and Illinois institutions, mention should be made of the man who carried on for A. N. Marquis and made *Who's Who in America,* and this publishing firm, what they are today – my late father, Wheeler Sammons.

Although born in Tacoma, Washington, educated in New York state and at Harvard, and travelling widely throughout the Orient when his father was in the consular service, Wheeler Sammons made Chicago almost the sole locale for his long business and publishing career. After a few months with E. A. Filene & Sons in Boston, immediately following his graduation from Harvard, he came to Chicago in 1913 to work for A. W. Shaw & Co., publishers of business books and magazines. He remained with Shaw until it affiliated with McGraw-Hill in 1929, becoming president of the company in the twenties.

Incidentally, while at Shaw he struck up a friendship with another Chicagoan, then unhappily at work there composing sales letters or something such, which friendship he maintained until his death in 1956. In fact, he even made a deal – which he always considered a shrewd one, at least from the literary standpoint – whereby he sent complimentary copies of each new Marquis publication to this other Chicagoan in return for similar copies of the latter's latest

books. The other half of the deal was Carl Sandburg – and you may be sure I have kept that deal alive!

Sandburg's affection for *Who's Who* is evidenced by this statement from him to which an entire page is devoted in the Sixtieth Anniversary Edition: "There are many big books trying to tell *What's What* or *How Now* or even *Why Why* but for *Who's Who* we go to *Who's Who* of long establishment and deep roots."

In 1926 my father and A. W. Shaw bought into the A. N. Marquis Co., although Marquis remained actively in charge. They were responsible for moving the firm to Chicago's then glistening new Palmolive Building – where it remained until it moved into its own building on East Ohio Street during World War II. The Ohio Street site was particularly appropriate for such a local institution, for the land was originally part of the farm of Chicago's first citizen, John Kinzie.

Wheeler Sammons became active in the day-to-day operation of *Who's Who* about 1937 as publisher in fact as well as name, although Marquis continued as editor until his death in 1943. He was responsible for the present line of four supplemental regional *Who's Whos* and one functional book, *Who's Who in Commerce and Industry,* the founding or acquisition of several other biographical reference dictionaries or services, the development of the *Who's Who in America* Educational Department which is devoted to the promotion of independent American education, and the setting up of the present not-for-profit corporation, Marquis-Who's Who, Inc., which not only publishes *Who's Who* and its sister books but is also aimed at the development and expansion of the Marquis Library of American Biography – open to the public – as an outstanding source of

American biographical data and related archival material.

In this connection, it is most interesting to note that the historian, Allan Nevins, in the preface he prepared for Volume 30, the Sixtieth Anniversary *Who's Who,* comes up with the proposal that *Who's Who* set up a file of subsidiary and additional data about its biographies, not to be published, but to be kept available to students and historians in the Marquis Library of American Biography. To quote Nevins:

> If every contributor to *Who's Who* was invited to add to his published data a brief statement, for the archive only, of what he regarded as his most noteworthy enrichment of the life of his times, the replies might often be pretentious, but might also often be modest and illuminating. If all were invited to lend for copying any letter or document of special public interest, the result would be an immensity of chaff, but also some grain. . . . The growth of this archive, which might be kept intact or might be distributed among university libraries on a regional basis, would realize the purposes which Wheeler Sammons had in mind when he transferred his property to a non-profit corporation, intended to be perpetual, with the announced object of developing what he called "A Library of American Biography."

It should be interpolated here that Wheeler Sammons married a native Chicagoan and his two children, also natives, are now actively engaged in the operation of Marquis-Who's Who, Inc. I am associate publisher with my mother, who always took a more than wifely hand in the publishing of *Who's Who,* even to the extent of at one time acting as obituary expert for *Who Was Who.* My sister, Betty S. Connor, works part time in the office and overtime at home on compiling the *Supplement to Who's Who,* a quarterly service for libraries and schools, and also supervises the proper application of the *Who's Who in America* standards for selection (actually entitled "Standards Controlling Listing") to each new biennial issue; *i.e.*: the selection of

"new names" to be included and the screening of those already listed with an eye to possible transfer to an inactive status of those who are retired or no longer of current national reference interest for some other reason.

These standards for selection are, of course, the foundation of the entire *Who's Who* operation and the formalization of them into a system of rigid impartiality was perhaps my father's greatest contribution to *Who's Who.* True, many of the standards themselves are very similar to those followed by A. N. Marquis and John W. Leonard in compiling Volume 1 sixty years ago, but besides expanding and up-dating them as necessary, Wheeler Sammons was also chiefly responsible for setting up a complex system of "standards for consideration," solely for the editors' use, which assure that just about every conceivable field of activity is automatically screened every two years to make certain that anyone in that field who has attained such status as to be of "possible national reference interest" is considered for inclusion in *Who's Who.* And when they are considered, such consideration is invariably guided by the following policy which explains the oft asked question: "How does one get into *Who's Who?*" This is answered readily enough by referring to the Standards Controlling Listing in *Who's Who in America.* Or by merely citing the *basic principle* stated below, and allowing the questioner to amplify it in any detail he personally feels necessary.

However, neither of these two ways of answering that question reaches the core, nor is indicative of the extensive processing involved in applying either the basic principle or the standards – which are, themselves, an application and an amplification of the principle.

This basic principle is, in fact, an application of an even

more basic – and far more fundamental – principle: that, in a democratic society, our lives are governed – insofar as they must be governed – *by sets of rules,* called laws, agreed upon by the majority, and not by the whims or desires of individuals or groups of individuals.

Thus, to make the application specific to *Who's Who in America,* ever since its founding in the Nineteenth Century by Albert Nelson Marquis – in truth, increasingly so as experience brought familiarity with the problems involved – the selection of those to be listed has been based upon sets of rules, themselves founded upon this basic principle: "Who's Who in America *shall endeavor to list those individuals who are of current national reference interest and inquiry either because of meritorious achievement in some reputable field of endeavor or because of positions they hold.*"

No more than inspection of the detailed standards (published in *Who's Who* itself) is required to demonstrate how these standards are an application – and amplification – of this basic principle. They, and the rules which guide and control the editors using them, together form a Constitution and a Bill of Rights for *Who's Who* which, so long as adhered to, rule out selections for inclusion based upon individual whim or desire.

It is by strict adherence for more than half a century to these self-imposed "laws" and to sound applications of them, putting aside all personal feelings of their own and of would-be or would-not-be biographees, that the editors have been able to bring to *Who's Who* general recognition as an American institution.

Many have been the times the editors have refused to list someone who wanted in, or listed someone who did

not want in, or included individuals for whom they did not have particularly high regard themselves, for the basic reason that those standards, reflecting that principle cited above, clearly indicated that the individual in question should be listed because of current subjectivity to national reference interest.

Space does not allow repeating here the "Standards Controlling Listing" themselves, but the interested reader will find them printed in full in the front section of each copy of *Who's Who in America.*

Many pages could be filled with lists of, or details about, famous Illinoisans in *Who's Who in America* from Adlai Ewing Stevenson, former vice-president of the United States, in Volume 1, to his namesake and grandson, Adlai Ewing Stevenson, twice candidate for President of the United States and former Governor of Illinois, in Volume 30 – and many preceding editions. But I shall confine myself to two rather special cases.

They are two Illinoisans – and, incidentally, both from Evanston – who have a rather unusual distinction: they are among the handful – thirty-one to be exact – of the 8,602 (including 564 from Illinois) biographees of Volume 1 of *Who's Who in America* who have been in the book continuously ever since, and appear again among the approximately 56,000 listings, including 50,645 full sketches, in the Sixtieth Anniversary volume.

One is James Alton James, former president of the Illinois State Historical Society, professor of history at Northwestern University from 1897 to 1935, and also dean of the graduate school from 1911 to 1931. Professor James was a prolific writer of history, a dominant figure in historical circles throughout the world, and active in Illinois

and Evanston civic affairs. Now ninety-three, he notes on his revised sketch for the new *Who's Who* that he is currently engaged in writing a history of Northwestern University.

The other is Arne Oldberg, composer, pianist and conductor, who was professor of piano and composition, director of the piano department and the graduate department at the School of Music, Northwestern University, from 1897 to 1941. Professor Oldberg is still teaching privately in Evanston at the age of eighty-three. A composer of no small attainments, it is interesting to note he is still busy in the creative field as well: his "Symphony in G Major" was completed in 1954 and in returning his revised sketch for the new *Who's Who* he adds to his list of compositions a violin concerto and three piano concertos.

The publishers and editors of *Who's Who* can only hope that when the seventieth anniversary rolls around they can count these two Illinoisans among that select group which has been in the big book continuously since its founding. But they can be reasonably certain that *Who's Who* itself will still be going strong, having grown even bigger at the steady rate of three in every 10,000 of population it has maintained for more than fifty years. And, as of today, they can also have sound reason to believe it will not only have retained its status as an American institution, but will remain as well a Chicago and Illinois institution.

For that has been an aim of theirs for many years: to keep *Who's Who* in Chicago where it was founded sixty years ago by Albert Nelson Marquis. When Wheeler Sammons and A. W. Shaw learned, back in 1926, that Marquis, facing up to the fact of his increasing years, was casting about for an associate, or associates, to carry on in his tradition – he

was childless – one of their chief reasons for stepping into the picture was their knowledge that among those he had under consideration was an Eastern publisher. They determined that not only was *Who's Who* a valuable property, but also that under any circumstances they did not want to see Chicago lose it. Their acceptance by Marquis, and their resulting association with him, assured that *Who's Who* would certainly remain in the city and state of its founding a good while longer.

From that time on many efforts, usually emanating from New York City, were made to purchase *Who's Who* or to merge the firm into some larger organization. But my father stuck to his guns – *Who's Who* belonged in Chicago and there it was going to stay. Thus offer after offer was turned down, and even when he did grant to an Eastern organization a revocable option to acquire control of the not-for-profit foundation, Marquis-Who's Who, Inc., which had the development and maintenance of the Marquis Library of American Biography as its ultimate objective, *Who's Who* remained in Chicago and it was there that the library itself was establishd, right in the Marquis Publications Building. Fortunately, both are still there today and in control of the Sammons family.

It appears reasonably certain that when the seventieth anniversary – and many following it – roll around, *Who's Who* can still claim with the same justification as now to be not only a national, but as well a Chicago and Illinois, institution, for the present publishers will certainly do nothing to alter that situation.

CHESTER D. BRADLEY

President Lincoln's Campaign Against the Merrimac

Chester D. Bradley is curator of the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum — near Newport News and across Hampton Roads from Norfolk, Virginia. In addition to writing magazine articles he is the author of a series of monographs titled "Tales of Old Fort Monroe," and is working on a book on Fort Monroe in the Civil War.

THE MISSION of the Confederate ironclad *Merrimac* was to break the blockade of Hampton Roads by sinking the Union fleet and starving Fort Monroe into surrender. On March 8, 1862, the *Merrimac* destroyed two powerful wooden warships, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress,* at Newport News, and drove off the *Minnesota, Roanoke* and *St. Lawrence,* which came from Fort Monroe to help them. The *Merrimac* had ten guns. The five wooden warships had 215 guns among them. The *Merrimac,* originally a wooden steam frigate, had been rebuilt into an "ironclad, shot-proof, floating steam battery" by the Confederate designers Lieutenant John M. Brooke and John L. Porter. Her tonnage was 3,200, length 275 feet, beam 38 feet, 6 inches, draft 22 feet (loaded), speed about nine knots. Her battery consisted of two 7-inch, two 6-inch, six 9-inch, and two 12-pounders.

In trying to escape, the *Minnesota* ran aground out of reach of the guns of the *Merrimac.* The latter retired to

Sewell's Point for the night, intending to return at high tide and finish off the *Minnesota.* The next morning, March 9, the *Merrimac* found the Union ironclad *Monitor* standing alongside the *Minnesota.* The *Monitor* had been constructed in haste by the Swedish inventor John Ericsson at Brooklyn, New York, and rushed to Fort Monroe to meet the *Merrimac.* She had arrived too late to participate in the fighting of the day before. Much smaller than the *Merrimac,* her tonnage was 987, length 172 feet, beam 41 feet 6 inches, depth 11 feet 4 inches, draft 10 feet 6 inches. She carried two 11-inch guns mounted in a revolving turret.[1] The two ironclads fought a drawn battle which lasted about four hours, at the conclusion of which the *Merrimac* returned up the Elizabeth River to the Norfolk Navy Yard.

The *Merrimac* had been checked but not destroyed. The situation was summed up that evening by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus V. Fox:

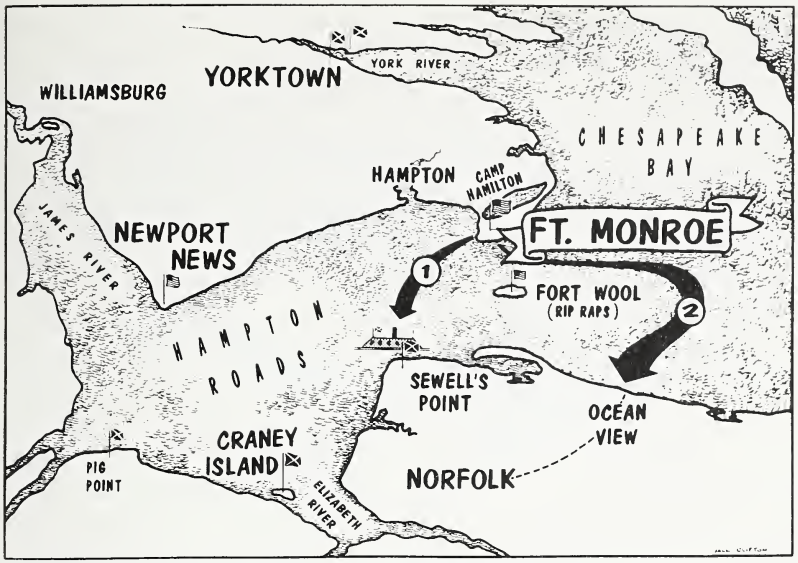
> She [the *Monitor*] is yet uninjured, and my impression is that the *Merrimack* is very little hurt, though I can not say. She retired under fair headway.[2]
>
> The performance of the *Monitor* . . . shows a slight superiority. . . . the *Merrimack* . . . is an ugly customer, and it is too good luck to believe we are yet clear of her. Our hopes are upon the *Monitor.*[3]

With such closely matched antagonists, anything could happen in the next encounter. If the *Monitor* were defeated, the result would be too awful to contemplate. The

1. The statistical data on the *Merrimac, Monitor* and the wooden warships have been abstracted from *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies, series* II, vol. I. Hereafter cited as *Official Records, Navies.* The *Merrimac* was renamed C. S. S. *Virginia* by the Confederates, but she is better known in world history by her original name of *Merrimac.*

2. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 6, Fox to Goldsborough, March 9, 1862. Gustavus Vasa Fox (1821-1883); Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1861-1866; early advocate of ironclad warships. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

3. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 78, Fox to McClellan, March 9, 1862.



In this panoramic drawing of the theater of the Merrimac's *operations arrow No. 1 indicates the attempted landing on Sewell's Point, May 8, 1862 which was blocked by the Confederate ironclad. Arrow No. 2 shows the route of the successful landing the next day at Ocean View, the dotted line represents the route of General Wool's march on Norfolk on May 10.*

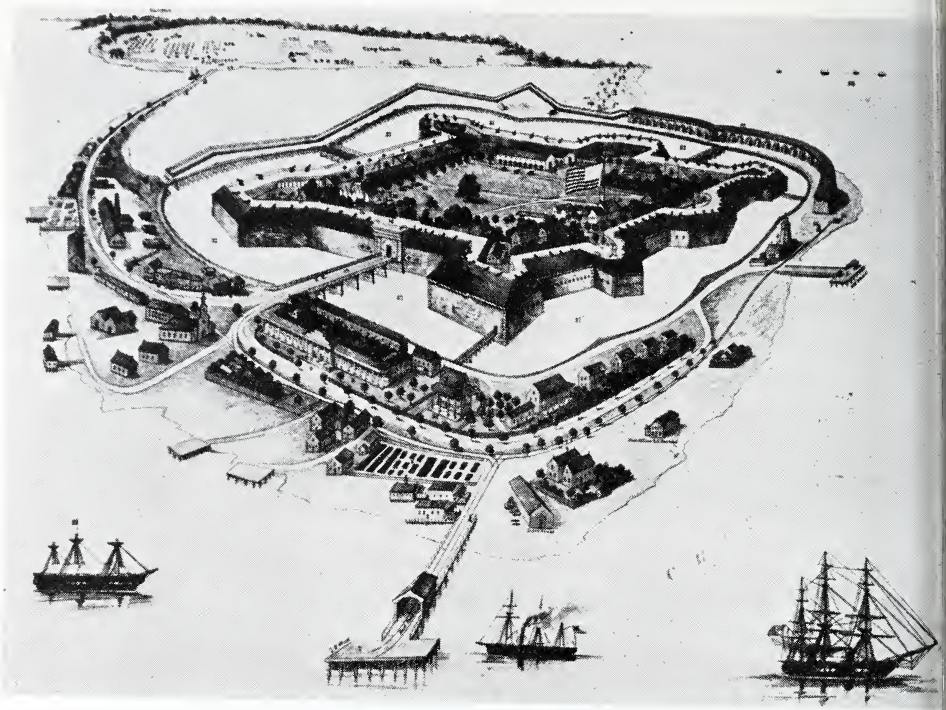
next morning, March 10, the following telegram was received at Fort Monroe from Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles:

> It is directed by the President that the *Monitor* be not too much exposed; that in no event shall any attempt be made to proceed with her unattended to Norfolk. If vessels can be procured and loaded with stone and sunk in the channel it is important that it should be done. The *San Jacinto* and *Dacotah* have sailed from Boston for Hampton Roads and the *Sabine* in tow of *Baltic* and a tug from New York. Gunboats will be ordered forthwith.[4]

The raid of the *Merrimac* into Hampton Roads was very disturbing to President Abraham Lincoln, because it threatened to interfere with the impending campaign against Richmond.

In those days, capture of the enemy's seat of govern-

4. *Ibid.*, 83, Welles to Fox, March 10, 1862.



COURTESY MARINERS' MUSEUM, NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

Fort Monroe, February, 1862. A contemporary print.

ment usually brought victory. So the long-desired spring offensive of 1862 was a drive to win the war. On March 12, Major General George B. McClellan telegraphed Fox at Fort Monroe, "Can I rely on the *Monitor* to keep the *Merrimack* in check so that I can make Fort Monroe a base of operations?"[5] Fox replied the next day, "The *Monitor* is more than a match for the *Merrimack,* but she might be disabled in the next encounter. I can not advise so great dependence upon her. . . . The *Monitor* may, and I think will, destroy the *Merrimack* in the next fight, but this is hope, not certainty. The *Merrimack* must dock for repairs."[6]

5. *Ibid.,* 99, McClellan to Fox, March 12, 1862.

6. *Ibid.,* 100, Fox to McClellan, March 13, 1862.

Although the *Merrimac* was truly in dry dock for repairs, it was almost certain that she would return. Should the *Monitor* be worsted in the next contest, it was feared that the Confederate ironclad might run past Forts Monroe and Wool into Chesapeake Bay, from where she could either sail up the Potomac River to Washington or else go out into the ocean and attack the cities of the eastern seaboard. On March 15, Secretary of the Navy Welles[7] wrote Commodore Louis M. Goldsborough suggesting that the *Merrimac* be bottled up in Norfolk by sinking vessels across the mouth of the Elizabeth River. "Such I know to be the wish of the President as well as the [Navy] Department, and a large committee of highly respectable gentlemen from the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston at the head of whom was Mayor [George] Opdyke,[8] have just called upon me to urge that vessels might be forthwith sunk in the channel."[9] Goldsborough had been away in the Sounds of North Carolina during the battles of March 8 and 9. As a practical naval man, he pointed out to the Secretary that it was not feasible to block the channel into the Elizabeth River effectively enough to prevent the *Merrimac's* getting out. However, "her construction forbids her going to sea. Therefore there need be no alarm at Philadelphia, New York, Boston, etc.," he said.

Since the *Monitor* could not be risked in another encounter with the *Merrimac,* Goldsborough proposed to ram the Confederate ironclad:

7. Gideon Welles (1802-1878) quit the Democratic Party over the slavery issue, becoming a Republican in 1856. He was Secretary of the Navy, 1861-1869. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

8. George Opdyke (1805-1880), wealthy merchant and manufacturer, mayor of New York City, 1862-1863. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

9. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 127, Welles to Goldsborough, March 15, 1862.

> If I had half a dozen large and fast steamers, such as those running on the Hudson and East rivers, I am satisfied that I could easily capture the *Merrimack* by running her down with one or more of them at any time she might make her appearance. No arms need be put on board of them. Upon their immense momentum alone I should rely, and in my judgment, success would be certain.[10]

Welles reacted at once to Goldsborough's suggestion and on March 17 advised that the steamers *Illinois* and *Arago* had been chartered "for the purpose of assisting in running down the *Merrimack* should she again make her appearance."[11] However, the crews of the *Illinois* and the *Arago* were not told of this intended use. Consequently, when they learned, after arriving at Fort Monroe, that their job was to ram the dreaded "rebel monster," they refused to work their ships. The crew of the *Illinois,* and presumably that of the *Arago* also, had to be replaced with naval personnel.[12]

In the meantime, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton[13] had not been idle. He had a great respect for the ability of Cornelius Vanderbilt,[14] the New York shipping magnate, and on March 15, caused the following telegram to be sent to Vanderbilt by an Assistant Secretary of War: "The Secretary of War directs me to ask you for what sum you will contract to destroy the *Merrimack* or prevent her from coming out from Norfolk, you to sink or destroy her if she gets out. Answer by telegraph, as there is no time to be

10. *Ibid.,* 134-35, Goldsborough to Welles, March 17, 1862.

11. *Ibid.,* 135, Welles to Goldsborough, March 17, 1862.

12. *Ibid.,* 145, Barton to Goldsborough, March 20, 1862; p. 158, Barton to Goldsborough, March 22, 1862; pp. 165-66, Goldsborough to Welles, March 23, 1862.

13. Edwin McMasters Stanton (1814-1869), born in Ohio, prominent Washington, D. C., lawyer just before the Civil War. Attorney General in President Buchanan's cabinet, he later became a Republican. Secretary of War, 1862-1868. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

14. Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794-1877), steamship and railroad promoter, financier and founder of the family fortune. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

lost."[15] Vanderbilt went to Washington to confer with the President. "Can you stop this iron-clad?" Lincoln asked. "Yes, at least there are nine chances out of ten I can. I will take my ship, the *Vanderbilt,* cover her machinery, etc., with 500 bales of cotton, raise the steam, and rush her with overwhelming force on the iron-clad, and sink her before she can escape, or cripple us." "How much money will you demand for such a service?" Vanderbilt replied that he would accept no money, but would give the vessel free of charge to the government.[16] Stanton formally accepted this gift under date of March 20, as follows:

> The President desires to turn to the utmost account your patriotic and generous gift to the Government of the great steamship *Vanderbilt,* and to use and employ that ship for protection and defense against the rebel ironclad ship *Merrimack,* and also to secure at the present time the advantage of your great energy and nautical experience; and to that end, having accepted your gift of the *Vanderbilt,* he authorizes and directs me to receive her into the service of the War Department, and to use and employ the said steamship and her officers and crew, under your supervision, direction, and command, to aid the protection and defense of the transports now in the service of this Department on Chesapeake Bay, Hampton Roads, and adjacent waters, and whereever said transports may be bound.
>
> Confiding in your patriotic motives . . . full discretion and authority are conferred upon you to arm, equip, navigate, use, manage, and employ the said steamship *Vanderbilt* with such commander and crew and under such instructions as you may deem fit for the purposes hereinbefore expressed. . . .
>
> Whatever instructions or authority you may require for the proper conduct and efficiency of said steamship in the Government service will be given on application to this Department.[17]

The steamer *Vanderbilt* arrived at Fort Monroe on March

15. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 129, Tucker to Vanderbilt. March 15, 1862.

16. Wheaton Joshua Lane, *Commodore Vanderbilt* (New York, 1942), 176-77.

17. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 148-49, Stanton to Vanderbilt, March 20, 1862.

23 to the great satisfaction of Commodore Goldsborough who reported to Secretary Welles:

> The *Vanderbilt* has just arrived. . . . The momentum of a vessel weighing only 1,000 tons, with a speed of but 10 knots per hour, is 160 tons greater than that of a shot weighing 200 pounds and impelled with a velocity of 1,000 feet per second.
>
> But a ship like the *Vanderbilt,* for instance, weighs quite 5,000 tons, and can easily be worked up to 15 knots per hour; hence her momentum can be made to exceed that of the shot just mentioned by considerably more than a thousandfold. The *Merrimack* could not possibly resist such a blow for a moment. . . . Running her down is the only way to insure her capture or destruction; and, furthermore, it is by far the safest course to be adopted. Should she go to Newport News, it is not my intention to follow her there, but the moment she comes down towards these roads [Hampton Roads] and gets where my vessels can act without grounding we shall all be at her. . . .
>
> Were the *Merrimack* to escape beyond these roads, she would in all probability go at once to York River, and thus derange entirely our contemplated attack upon Richmond.[18]

Happy as Commodore Goldsborough was over the arrival of the steamer *Vanderbilt,* he did not like the idea of the *man* Vanderbilt cruising about the theater of operations, responsible to no one except the Secretary of War up in Washington. Apparently Goldsborough induced Major General Wool,[19] commanding Fort Monroe, who had *nominal* control of the ship, to turn the *Vanderbilt* over to his (Goldsborough's) command. When Secretary of War Stanton heard of this, he ordered General Wool to have the *Vanderbilt* relieved from duty under Commodore Goldsborough.[20] However, Vanderbilt had the good sense to say

18. *Ibid.,* 166, Goldsborough to Welles, March 23, 1862.

19. John Ellis Wool (1784-1869), veteran of the War of 1812, a leading general during the Mexican War, was 77 years old when he took command at Fort Monroe in August, 1861. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

20. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 173, Stanton to Wool, March 27, 1862.

that he was satisfied with Commodore Goldsborough's plan of battle and desired the steamer to remain under the Commodore's command, according to Assistant Secretary of War Peter H. Watson's telegram of March 28. Watson[21] also said:

> I visited the *Vanderbilt* and found her preparations far advanced and that she is at any moment ready for action. Her steam is kept constantly up. There are seven steamers here, all ready to act as rams, with more or less efficiency, but by their combined operations abundantly able to destroy the *Merrimack.* In my judgment, it is impossible for the *Merrimack* to come down to Fort Monroe without being sunk by the rams. She can run up James River, she can attack Newport News, and do what she pleases above Fort Monroe, as the channel above is too narrow and crooked to admit of the steam rams being worked against her with effect; but while remaining up there out of our reach she can do us no harm.[22]

As soon as it was known that the *Merrimac* was in dry dock for repairs at Norfolk Navy Yard, General McClellan[23] began to move the Army of the Potomac from Northern Virginia to Fort Monroe. This movement began on March 17 and was completed by April 1. During all of this time the *Merrimac* remained in dry dock. The Army of the Potomac consisted of about 100,000 men, mostly volunteers with a nucleus of regulars. To transport this vast force and its equipment down the Chesapeake Bay to Fort Monroe required 113 steamers, 118 schooners and 88 barges. On

21. Watson was appointed Assistant Secretary of War Jan. 24, 1862. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884), I: 5.

22. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 176, Watson to Stanton, March 28, 1862.

23. George Brinton McClellan (1826-1885), was appointed a major general in the regular army in May, 1861, and drove the Confederates out of Western Virginia. After the Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, he assumed command of the shattered and demoralized Union forces around Washington, welding them into the superb Army of the Potomac. He was finally removed from duty in the field on Nov. 7, 1862, by President Lincoln, who considered McClellan to be lacking in offensive vigor. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

April 3, McClellan advised Goldsborough that he would advance on Yorktown in the morning. He asked for the support of Goldsborough's gunboats. "If we can arrange matters so that I can get in rear of Yorktown before you open fire, we ought very soon to get the place."[24] On April 4, McClellan wrote to Goldsborough, "Our advanced guard is about five miles from Yorktown. . . . Would it not be well for you to have some of your gunboats in the vicinity, ready to act according to circumstances?"[25] On April 5, General McClellan wrote to Goldsborough again, "Naval cooperation seems to me more essential than ever. . . . I shall get my siege guns and mortars in battery to open simultaneously with the action of such naval vessels as you can spare."[26]

Commodore Goldsborough had a fleet of at least twenty-five vessels in Hampton Roads, with more on the way. Their total armament was about 140 guns. These were the *Minnesota,* 47 guns; *Wachusett,* 10; *San Jacinto,* 12; *Dacotah,* 8; *Chocura,* 4; *Penobscot,* 4; *Octorara,* 6; *Anacostia,* 5; *Freeborn,* 2; *Marblehead,* 4; *Braziliera,* 6; *Monitor,* 2; *Currituck,* 5; *Victoria,* 3; *Baltimore,* 1; *Island Belle,* 2; *Patroon,* 5; *Seminole,* 9; *William Badger,* 1; *Roman* and *Charles Phelps,* coal ships with 1 gun each; *Ben Morgan,* hospital ship, unarmed; and three unarmed tugs, *Rescue, Cohassett,* and *Young America.* In addition, he had the *Vanderbilt* and the half-dozen or so merchant ships, which had been chartered to act as rams.[27] But he had just received word that the *Merrimac* was about to be taken out of dry dock.[28] So

24. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 196, McClellan to Goldsborough, April 3, 1862.

25. *Ibid.,* 200, McClellan to Goldsborough, April 4, 1862.

26. *Ibid.,* 205, McClellan to Goldsborough, April 5, 1862.

27. *Ibid.,* 184, Goldsborough to Welles, April 1, 1862. For the armament of each vessel listed in Goldsborough's report see *Official Records, Navies,* series II, vol. I.

28. *Ibid.,* 203, Wool to Goldsborough, April 5, 1862.

he reluctantly detached only three gunboats, *Wachusett* (10 guns), *Penobscot* (4 guns), and *Currituck* (5 guns) for operations in the York River.[29] On April 6, the Commodore sent this message to General McClellan:

> I dare not leave the *Merrimack* and consorts unguarded. Were she out of the way everything I have here should be at work in your behalf; but as things stand you must not count upon my sending any more vessels to aid your operations than those I mentioned to you. Some of them are now at and about York River, under Missroon, and the other three I hold here.[30]

But Lieutenant Commander Missroon[31] with his three gunboats before Yorktown told the impatient McClellan that he was unable to shell the land batteries because of their great strength.[32] On April 10, McClellan, with his vast army still immobilized before Yorktown, made a fresh appeal to Goldsborough for adequate naval support. He asked for the *Stevens* [a new gunboat with a rifled gun] and "any other small vessel with an 80 or 100 pounder rifle. . . . If the *Mystic* [a screw steamer with five guns] can run the batteries, she can break up all their [the Confederates'] communications by land and disturb them terribly."[33] But on April 11, the *Merrimac* made her long expected appearance, and McClellan's affairs, so far as Commodore Goldsborough was concerned, paled into insignificance.

The second advent of the *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads was dramatic. An official telegram from Fort Monroe to the Secretary of War, dated April 11, 1862, describes it as follows:

29. *Ibid.,* 201, Goldsborough to Welles, April 5, 1862.

30. *Ibid.,* 206, Goldsborough to McClellan, April 6, 1862.

31. John Stoney Missroon (1810-1865), born Charleston, S. C., died Boston, Mass. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1888), IV: 340.

32. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 206-7, Missroon to McClellan, April 6, 1862.

33. *Ibid.,* 215, McClellan to Goldsborough, April 10, 1862.

About 7 o'clock a signal gun from the *Minnesota* turned all eyes towards Sewell's Point, and, coming out from under the land, almost obscured by a dim haze, the *Merrimack* was seen, followed by the *Yorktown,*[34] *Jamestown,*[35] and four small vessels, altogether seven in number. There was instantaneous activity among the transports and vessels in the upper roads to get out of the way of the steamboats, several of which were crowded with troops, and moved down out of danger. Steam tugs ran whistling and screaming about, towing strings of vessels behind them, whilst sloops, schooners and brigs, taking advantage of what air there was, got up sail and moved out of harm's way. In the course of an hour the appearance of crowded roads was greatly altered.

Forest of masts between fortress [Fort Monroe] and Sewell's Point disappeared, and the broad, open expanse of water bore on its surface only the rebel fleet and two French [*Gassendi* and *Catinat*] and one English [*Rinaldo*] men-of-war, which, with steam up, still maintained position. . . .

8:30 o'clock: For the last hour the maneuvers of the rebel fleet have apparently been directed toward decoying our fleet up towards Sewell's Point[36]. . . . On our part no movement was made. The *Monitor,* with steam up and in fighting trim, laid quietly near her usual anchorage [the mouth of Hampton Creek]. The *Naugatuck (Stevens'* battery) came out and took position alongside the *Monitor.* Signals were exchanged between our vessels, the fort [Fort Monroe], and Rip Raps [Fort Wool], but no movements were made.

Curiosity grew rapidly into suspense. A bold stroke. At length the *Yorktown* moved rapidly up, and after advancing well toward Newport News, steamed rapidly toward Hampton.

The object was then seen to be the capture of three sailing vessels, two brigs, and a schooner, transports [*Marcus, Saboah, Catherine T. Dix*], which were lying either aground or had not been furnished with a steam tug in order to make their escape. The bold impudence of maneuvering continued; the apparent apathy of our fleet excited surprise and indignation.

There was a rebel boat, not built for war purposes, having the protection of the *Merrimack* and his *{sic}* consorts, where, it appeared to impartial eyes, she could easily be cut off, and yet no attempt on our part to do it. Of course there were good reasons for this policy, though the crowd could not see it.[37]

34. Sidewheel merchant steamer with six guns renamed the *Patrick Henry.*

35. Sidewheel steamer with two guns renamed the *Thomas Jefferson.*

36. Today the Naval Base.

37. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 220-21, Fulton to Stanton, April 11, 1862.

General Wool's report of the incident stated that the small boats accompanying the *Merrimac* "came down as far as Bates' Dock and carried off three small vessels, empty. Driving cattle across Hampton Bridge this morning it was broken down and I could not cross; otherwise I would have sent my artillery to protect them."[38] (According to Plate XVIII, *Atlas to Accompany Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* vol. 40, part 1, a line projected from Bates' Dock out into Hampton Roads would cross the channel not more than one and one-half miles west of Fort Monroe.) The *Merrimac* and consorts remained off Sewell's Point until late afternoon when, as reported by General Wool, "*Merrimack* came down toward the *Monitor* and *Stevens.* The latter fired four or five rounds and the *Merrimac* one round, when she, with her consorts, returned to Craney Island."[39]

The next day, April 12, the *Merrimac* was still anchored off Craney Island. Commodore Goldsborough sent the following message to the commanding officers of the naval vessels in Hampton Roads:

> There are many indications to my mind that the *Merrimack* and consorts intend an attack upon us to-night. Be thoroughly prepared, therefore. She must be run down at all hazards, and if she attempt to go to Yorktown . . . she must be followed and run down. The salvation of our army now before Yorktown greatly depends upon the accomplishment of her destruction, or at least crippling her. . . . Destroy the *Merrimack* by running her down is what I want all to do.[40]

However, the anticipated attack did not materialize, and on April 13, Goldsborough reported to Secretary Welles: "The *Merrimack* and consorts hovered about inside of Sew-

38. *Ibid.,* 219, Wool to Stanton, April 11, 1862, 11 A.M.

39. *Ibid.,* 220, Wool to Stanton, April 11, 1862, 5 P.M.

40. *Ibid.,* 228, Goldsborough to the commanding officers of naval vessels in Hampton Roads, April 12, 1862.

ell's Point during yesterday, none of them, except a very small tug, appeared outside of that point. . . . To-day up to this hour, 3 PM, they all remain at anchor about Craney Island, and seem to be quiet."[41] Off Yorktown, Lieutenant Commander Missroon was again telling the insistent General McClellan that his three light gunboats could not be risked to bombard the formidable Confederate land forts.[42]

The next day, April 14, the *Merrimac* was not seen, having withdrawn up the Elizabeth River.[43] On April 15, Goldsborough reported to Welles,

> The *Merrimack* and consorts still remain quiet, and at anchor near Norfolk. Their next move, I understand, is to shell Newport News. The place is no longer of any material consequence to us, and it is not my intention to be drawn up there by the enemy. Our troops stationed there . . . can easily fall back out of the way of all harm. It would be extremely hazardous, if not positively destructive, for me to go among the shoals and narrow waters thereabouts with my large vessels.[44]

But several days later, Goldsborough learned through some deserters that a large crew of men was working on the *Merrimac,* fitting shutters to her side ports, which suggested that she might attempt to run past Fort Monroe and Fort Wool.[45] Goldsborough's worries must have been increased by a letter he received from Assistant Secretary of the Navy Fox dated April 19:

41. *Ibid.,* 230, Goldsborough to Welles, April 13, 1862.

42. *Ibid.,* 231-32, Missroon to McClellan, April 13, 1862.

43. *Ibid.,* 233, Goldsborough to Welles, April 14, 1862.

44. *Ibid.,* 236, Goldsborough to Welles, April 15, 1862.

45. *Ibid.,* 255, Goldsborough to Welles, April 22, 1862. Fort Monroe and Fort Wool, being respectively situated on the north and south sides of the channel, effectively controlled the passage in and out of Hampton Roads. Fort Monroe is located on Old Point Comfort. Fort Wool is located on an artificial island formerly called the Rip Raps. Originally known as Fort Calhoun, its name was changed to Fort Wool on March 19, 1862, in honor of the venerable Major General John E. Wool. Robert Arthur, *History of Fort Monroe* (Fort Monroe, 1930), 50.

> The Navy is suffering severely from the condition of things at Hampton Roads, the great public not understanding why we can not take Yorktown. The feeling here is that McClellan has put himself into a very tight place, and that a rush past the batteries at Yorktown only can relieve him, or very greatly assist him. The President sends daily [inquiries] about the *Galena* [a new gunboat], and Paulding [Commodore Hiram Paulding] promises her Tuesday. The *Maratanza* [6 guns] . . . has sailed from Boston. . . . Upon the arrival of the *Galena* [6 guns], I presume . . . the general [McClellan] . . . would like to have her above Yorktown [try to run past the Confederate batteries]. . . . A passage at night, under full steam, across the line of fire has been demonstrated by this war to be easy of accomplishment.[46]

The naval deadlock in Hampton Roads and the military stalemate before Yorktown were causing deep concern to President Lincoln and the members of his cabinet. This is evident from the serious consideration given to a letter received at this time, a letter that would normally have been dismissed as the outpouring of a crank. On April 18, one H. K. Lawrence of Washington, D. C., wrote Secretary of the Navy Welles as follows:

> I propose to the Navy Department to destroy the rebel ironclad steamers *Merrimack, Jamestown,* and *Yorktown* within twenty days from this date, the United States Government paying me for the destruction of the steamer *Merrimack* $500,000 and for the destruction of the steamers *Jamestown* and *Yorktown* $100,000 each.
>
> The respective sums named to be paid on the destruction by me of either of the said steamers. The government is to furnish me with 2,000 pounds of gunpowder for the purpose, and with the necessary transportation for my men and apparatus from the city of Washington to a point as near the said steamers as shall be deemed safe to venture.
>
> In the event of the said steamers being removed from their present position, beyond my reach, or being destroyed by other means before the expiration of this proposal, then the government shall refund to me the amount of my actual outlay to carry out this proposal, not to exceed $1,800.

46. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 250, Fox to Goldsborough, April 19, 1862.

The Secretary of the Navy replied with alacrity on the same day, "If you state your plans to the Department your proposal will be considered." Lawrence wrote the next day, April 19,

> I propose . . . to prepare . . . four submarine armors, for which the Department shall pay me $1,800, payable at the time I shall leave Fort Monroe with my men to carry out this proposal. The Department shall furnish me with 1,500 pounds gunpowder and facilities and material to manufacture the necessary torpedoes at the arsenal in Washington.
>
> In event of my success in destroying the *Merrimack* to the satisfaction of the Department, the Secretary of the Navy pledges himself to recommend an appropriation by Congress of $100,000, as my compensation and to use his influence and best exertions to have said appropriations passed.[47]

Lawrence, the would-be inventor, apparently aroused some strong hopes in the Navy Department, for on April 23, Assistant Secretary Fox wrote Goldsborough, "The submarine boat I hope will be with you before many days, also another blow-up matter, in which the party takes the risk and labor for $100,000, if successful."[48] Fox was apparently making a comparison with the contract which the Navy Department had made with John Ericsson some months earlier. Had the *Monitor* been destroyed in her encounter with the *Merrimac,* Ericsson and his associates would have been required to bear the full cost of construction, which was $275,000.[49] Apparently the Navy Department now reasoned that if Ericsson's outlandish *Monitor* had been able to *check* the *Merrimac,* perhaps Lawrence's mysterious submarine device, whatever it was, would *destroy* the *Merrimac.* However, it would seem that Lawrence was not as

47. *Ibid.,* 248-49, Lawrence to Welles, April 18, 1862. Welles to Lawrence, April 18, 1862. Lawrence to Welles, April 19, 1862.

48. *Ibid.,* 261, Fox to Goldsborough, April 22, 1862.

49. *Battles and Leaders,* I: 749.

substantial an inventor as Ericsson was, for we hear no more about him and his "submarine armors."

On May 1, the *Merrimac* was seen fast to the buoy off Craney Island.[50] She then disappeared for two days. On May 3, Goldsborough[51] wrote to General McClellan, who was again asking for more vessels at Yorktown,

> Just as the enemy's forces are pressed at Yorktown, so will the desire increase to get the *Merrimack* and consorts off there [Yorktown], and the more cautious I must be about sending vessels away from this; they have been threatening us for several days past. Seven vessels of ours are already off Yorktown, and this, you are aware, is the full number originally agreed upon between us in our conferences as sufficient to answer ends, as then understood; but, if events will permit, I will increase the number between now and next Monday night [May 5], and as largely as I can consistently with my duty.[52]

Lincoln was now quite worried. With the Army of the Potomac stalled before the defenses of Yorktown and the navy immobilized at Fort Monroe, the campaign against Richmond was at a standstill. Public impatience was mounting. The President decided to go down to Fort Monroe "to ascertain by personal observation whether some further vigilance and vigor might not be infused into the operations of the army and navy at that point."[53] Before Lincoln could leave Washington, the news came that the Confed-

50. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 298, Wool to Goldsborough, May 1, 1862.

51. Louis Malesherbes Goldsborough (1805-1877), born in Washington, D. C.; his father was a member of the well-known Maryland family. Goldsborough received a midshipman's warrant in 1812, but did not see active service until 1816; served in the Mexican War as a commander; Superintendent of the U. S. Naval Academy, 1853-1857. On Sept. 23, 1861, he took command of the Atlantic Blockading Squadron, despite a law retiring officers after 45 years' service. Nettled by criticism of his management of naval operations in 1862, he was relieved from duty at his own request on Sept. 4. He retired from the navy in 1873. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

52. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 305, Goldsborough to McClellan, May 3, 1862.

53. John George Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1890), V: 234.

erates had evacuated Yorktown the night of May 3-4 and withdrawn toward Williamsburg.[54] The Army of the Potomac was once more on the way, *but there still remained the problem of the* Merrimac. As Commodore Goldsborough reported to Secretary of the Navy Welles, she came out the afternoon of May 4 and anchored just inside Sewell's Point and

> after remaining there a few hours she went back and anchored off Craney Island, where she now lies with steam up. . . . The precise subject of her movements it is difficult to divine, but one point with her, I think, is to watch James River, up which she can go as high as Hog Island, if not still higher; or, in other words, some 50 or 60 miles or more.
>
> She may attempt to force her way to York River, and be now only waiting for the opportunity of her choice to occur. To get there, with the number of vessels now engaged in transporting our troops, provisions, guns, etc., up to West Point [a port at the head of the York River] would be very disadvantageous to us.[55]

The evacuation of Yorktown had not improved the naval situation, as Goldsborough saw it. Restrained by order of the Secretary of the Navy from using the *Monitor* against the *Merrimac* again, he dared not send the fleet up the James River to cover the left flank of McClellan's advancing army, because the *Merrimac* could follow it, as he thought, and wreak havoc among the wooden ships. On the other hand, if he sent the fleet up the York River to cover McClellan's right flank, the *Merrimac* might escape

54. According to Major General Alexander S. Webb, Chief of Staff, Army of the Potomac, the evacuation of Yorktown took them by surprise. "The troops had settled down to siege preparations and a fixed camp life for at least a time longer. Hence, when orders came to break up and push after the rebels, several hours were consumed in having the commands properly provisioned for the march. The evacuation was reported at dawn . . . it was not until noon that the cavalry and infantry were fairly off. The delay may have been immaterial; but it was a delay which presupposed the continuation of the siege." Alexander S. Webb, *The Peninsula—McClellan's Campaign of 1862* (New York, 1881), 69.

55. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 322, Goldsborough to Welles, May 5, 1862.

from Hampton Roads and destroy the army's line of supply on the York River.

Lincoln left Washington just before dusk,[56] Monday, May 5, on the revenue steamer *Miami,* accompanied by Secretary of the Treasury Chase,[57] Secretary of War Stanton and Brigadier General Viele.[58] Because of bad weather, they did not reach Fort Monroe until the evening of Tuesday, May 6.[59] They were soon joined by General Wool and his staff, and although it was now late, they all went aboard the *Minnesota,* where they conferred long and earnestly with Commodore Goldsborough about "military and naval movements in connection with the dreaded *Merrimac*," as Secretary Chase put it. After the conference the President and his party returned to the *Miami.*

The next morning, Wednesday, May 7, the party arose

56. From here on the article is based on three letters which Secretary of the Treasury Chase wrote to his daughter Janet from Fort Monroe. Jacob W. Schuckers, *The Life and Public Services of Salmon P. Chase* (New York, 1874), 366-74. Reference will be made to the *Official Records* and the log of the Revenue Steamer *Miami* to corroborate or amplify the Secretary's narrative. By correlating Chase's letters with the *Official Records* and the log of the *Miami* and the 1862 calendar, it is quite evident that the first two letters should have been dated May 8 and 9, 1862, instead of May 7 and 8. Considering that Secretary Chase had been suddenly projected from the routine of his Washington office into the hectic atmosphere of a major theater of war, it is not surprising that the impact of these first crowded days caused him to lose track of the exact date. The third letter is correctly dated May 11, 1862.

57. Salmon P. Chase (1808-1873), born in New England, reared in Ohio, where he became a prominent lawyer and abolitionist, U. S. Senator and Governor of Ohio. Secretary of the Treasury, 1861-1864. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1864-1873. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

58. Egbert Ludovicus Viele (1825-1902), a former army officer, civil engineer. He was made a brigadier general of volunteers in Aug. 1861. After the capture of Norfolk, May 10, 1862, he served as military governor until Oct. 1862. *Dictionary of American Biography.* Viele wrote an article for *Scribner's Monthly,* vol. XVI (1878), 813-22, titled "A Trip with Lincoln, Chase and Stanton." Although very interesting, Viele's article contains many serious errors.

59. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* series I, vol. XI, part 3, p. 145. Stanton to McClellan, May 6, 1862. Hereafter cited as *Official Records, Armies.*

early. They were not due to have breakfast ashore with General Wool until 9 A.M., so Stanton proposed that they visit the *Vanderbilt* before breakfast. They were rowed over to where the great steamer lay at anchor.[60] The owner had long since grown tired of waiting for the *Merrimac* to come down to Fort Monroe to be rammed, and had returned to New York. The *Vanderbilt's* bow had been strengthened with heavy timbers plated with iron for ramming the *Merrimac*. Lincoln and his companions stood in the *Vanderbilt's* wheelhouse and looked through one of her great sidewheels. Made of wrought iron, it was 42 feet in diameter and weighed over 100 tons. On the way back to the *Miami* they were rowed around the *Monitor* and the *Stevens* so that they might have a closer look at them. The *Miami* then tied up at the Engineer Wharf and the President and his party went ashore to have breakfast with General Wool at Quarters No. 1, the graceful, old, plantation-style house, which stands just inside the East Gate at Fort Monroe. After breakfast, they were taken on board the *Monitor* and the *Stevens* and then over to Fort Wool on the south side of the channel, where they inspected the Sawyer gun and James rifle, which were trained on Sewell's Point. Returning to Fort Monroe, they had another conference with Commodore Goldsborough, who had come ashore for that purpose.

The *Merrimac* was now seen around Sewell's Point, and the military review which had been ordered at Camp Hamilton on the north shore of Mill Creek was called off. However, the *Merrimac* did not come toward Fort Monroe, so General Wool proposed that the President and his com-

60. Log of the revenue steamer *Miami*, May 6, 1862. National Archives, Washington, D. C.

panions ride over to Camp Hamilton anyway to see whatever was to be seen. Lincoln and Chase rode horseback. Stanton rode in a carriage. General Wool and his staff in their blue uniforms formed the most brilliant part of the cortege. As they rode through Camp Hamilton,[61] General Wool gave orders to get the regiments ready for a review. In the meantime, the party rode on to the ruins of Hampton, which had been burned by the Confederates in 1861. They were saddened by the bare, blackened and crumbling walls. They viewed the ruins of the courthouse and St. John's Church. Crossing back over Hampton Creek, they saw the summer home of ex-President Tyler[62] and some other fine houses, which were intact, as the Confederates had not crossed the bridge when they set fire to the town.

Back at Camp Hamilton, they saw the troops drawn up in formation. After the review, cavalry first, then regiment after regiment of infantry, the party rode on toward the fort – but one regiment had drawn up in line. The colonel and his men were pleased when the President rode along the line with his head uncovered. This inspired great enthusiasm.

There followed another conference with General Wool at Quarters No. 1. It was decided that an attempt must be made to capture Norfolk. Deprived of her base, the *Merrimac* would be forced to withdraw up the James River or attempt to run past the forts and the fleet into Chesapeake Bay. Lincoln sent the following message to Commodore Goldsborough:

61. Erected in 1861 to shelter the reinforcements rushed to defend Fort Monroe, Camp Hamilton was in use throughout the Civil War. Today the site is occupied by the borough of Phoebus, a part of the city of Hampton.

62. John Tyler, born March 29, 1790, died Jan. 18, 1862, President of the United States 1841-1845.

> If you have tolerable confidence you can successfully contend with the *Merrimack* without the help of the *Galena* and two accompanying gunboats, send the *Galena* and two gunboats up the James River at once.
>
> Please report your action on this to me at once. I shall be found at General Wool's headquarters.[63]

On receipt of this message, Goldsborough ordered the *Galena* (6 guns), *Aroostook* (4 guns) and *Port Royal* (8 guns) to go up the James River to cover McClellan's left flank.[64] Lincoln and Stanton remained ashore at Quarters No. 1 while Chase and General Viele went back to the *Miami* to spend the night.

The next morning, Thursday, May 8, the President summoned Goldsborough ashore for another conference at Quarters No. 1. It was decided that the navy should bombard the Confederate batteries on Sewell's Point, and under cover of this bombardment troops from Fort Monroe would be landed on Sewell's Point for a march on Norfolk.[65] Lincoln, Chase and Stanton went over to Fort Wool to watch the action. The *Seminole, San Jacinto, Dacotah, Susquehanna, Monitor* and *Stevens* opened fire on Sewell's Point. In this, they were joined by the large guns on Fort Wool.[66] Before long the small battery at the extreme end of Sewell's Point was silenced. The fire was then directed on a battery inside the Point. While this was going on, smoke was seen curling over the woods on Sewell's Point five or six miles from its termination. The men on Fort Wool shouted, "There comes the *Merrimac*!" The President and his party left Fort Wool. Just as they were stepping ashore at Fort Monroe, the *Merrimac* came out from

63. *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 326, Lincoln to Goldsborough, May 7, 1862.

64. *Ibid.,* 327, Goldsborough to Rodgers, May 7, 1862.

65. *Official Records, Armies,* series I, vol. XI, part 3, p. 153, Stanton to Watson, May 8, 1862, 11 A.M.

66. *Ibid.,* 153, Stanton to Watson, May 8, 1862, 2 P.M.

behind Sewell's Point. All the big wooden ships backed off. The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* confronted one another briefly, but they did not engage one another. The *Merrimac* then took up a position off Sewell's Point.[67]

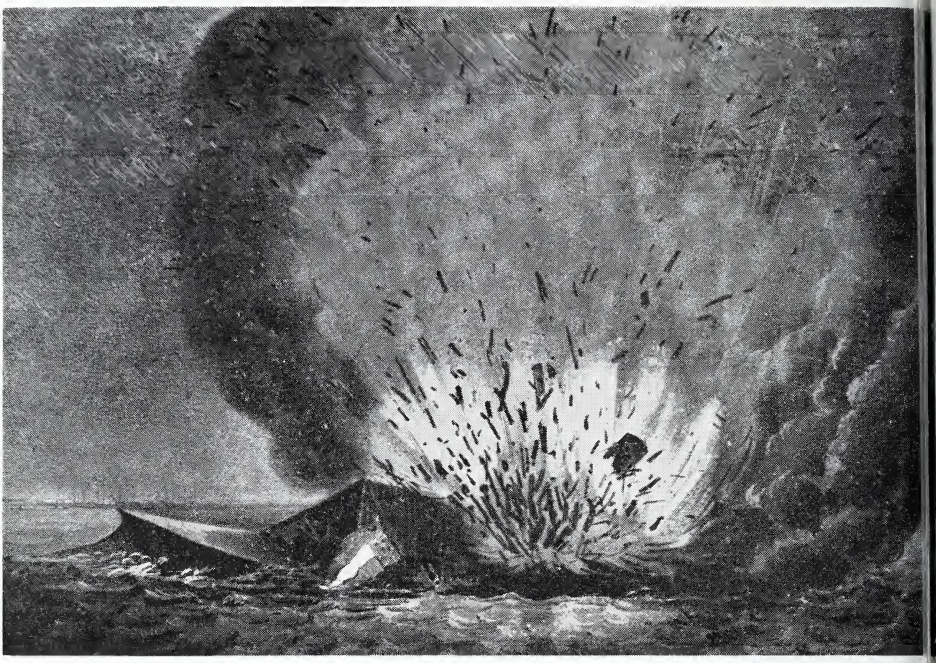
So long as the *Merrimac* protected Sewell's Point, a landing of troops would be suicidal. The projected landing was called off and the troops were unloaded from the transports. Obviously, it was necessary "to seek another landing-place out of reach of the *Merrimac,*" as Secretary Chase wrote to his daughter. This would have to be east of Sewell's Point on Chesapeake Bay. Since the channel from Hampton Roads into Chesapeake Bay lay between Fort Monroe and Fort Wool, it was hoped that the *Merrimac* would not try to run past the forts. With her slow speed,

67. Here are both the Union and the Confederate versions of the action on May 8, 1862:

"The *Monitor* had orders to fall back into fair channel way, and only to engage her *{Merrimac}* seriously in such a position that this ship, together with the merchant vessels intended for the purpose, could run her down if an opportunity presented itself. The other vessels were not to hesitate to run her down, and the *Baltimore,* an unarmed steamer of light draft, high speed, and with a curved bow, was kept in the direction of the *Monitor* expressly to throw herself across the *Merrimack,* either forward or aft of her plated house; but the *Merrimack* did not engage the *Monitor,* nor did she place herself where she could have been assailed by our ram vessels to any advantage, or where where there was any prospect whatever of getting at her." *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 331, Goldsborough to President Lincoln, May 9, 1862.

The Confederate version is as follows: "We had arranged the conference [between Confederate military and naval authorities] for the next day, the 8th, but on that day, before the hour appointed, the enemy attacked the Sewell's Point battery, and I left immediately with the *Virginia {Merrimac}* to defend it.

"We found six of the enemy's vessels. including the ironclad steamers *Monitor* and *Naugatuck {Stevens},* shelling the battery. We passed the battery and stood directly for the enemy, for the purpose of engaging him, and I thought an action certain, particularly as the *Minnesota* and *Vanderbilt,* which were anchored below Fortress Monroe, got underway and stood up to that point, apparently with the intention of joining their squadron in the roads [Hampton Roads]. Before, however, we got within gunshot the enemy ceased firing and retired with all speed under the protection of the guns of the fortress, followed by the *Virginia* until the shells from the Rip Raps [Fort Wool] passed over her. The *Virginia* was then placed at her moorings near Sewell's Point." *Ibid.,* 336, Tattnall to Mallory. May 14, 1862.



COURTESY MARINERS' MUSEUM, NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

The original caption of the Currier and Ives print from which this picture was copied reads: "Destruction of the Rebel Monster 'Merrimac' off Craney Island May 11th 1862."

the Confederate ironclad would be subjected to a murderous cross fire from the big guns of the two forts. There was also a 15-inch Rodman gun at Fort Monroe which had been specially cast for use against ironclad ships.[68] If the *Merrimac* did break out of Hampton Roads, she would leave the city of Norfolk open to attack by the *Monitor,* which would be free to sail up the Elizabeth River. These considerations were counted upon to immobilize the *Merrimac* while a landing was being made on the Chesapeake Bay shore.

The question was just where on the Chesapeake Bay shore

68. This, the first 15-inch gun cast by the method of Maj. Rodman, stood on the beach trained on the channel. Today it slumbers under a live oak tree on the west side of the parade ground of Fort Monroe.

should the landing be made? The next day, Friday, May 9, at 10 A.M., Chase, General Wool, and Colonel Cram[69] set out with the *Miami* and a tug to make a reconnaissance of the shore. At Ocean View[70] they found a good landing place, no more than five or six miles from Fort Monroe, capable of receiving any number of troops and communicating with Norfolk by passable roads. Returning to Fort Monroe about noon, they found Lincoln talking to a pilot and studying a map. The President thought there was a nearer landing place, and wanted to go see it. They started out at 5 P.M. Lincoln and Stanton went on the tug and Chase and General Wool on the *Miami.* They took with them a large boat and about twenty soldiers from Fort Wool. When they came to the place Lincoln wished to see, the boat from Fort Wool and a boat from the *Miami* were filled with armed men and sent toward the shore. All of the guns of the *Miami* were trained on the shore. Before the boats could land, several Confederate horsemen appeared on the beach. Chase sent a message to Lincoln asking if the *Miami* should fire on the horsemen. Lincoln said no.[71]

On their return to Fort Monroe, General Wool expressed a preference for the first landing place visited, so Ocean View was selected for the landing of the troops. It was now 7 P.M., but four regiments were loaded at once into transports at the main dock and the Engineer Wharf of Fort Monroe. The troops landed at Ocean View without interference from the *Merrimac,* which held her position at Sewell's Point. The next morning, Saturday, May 10, Lin-

69. Thomas Jefferson Cram (1807-1883), graduated West Point 1826. Aide to Major General Wool, 1861-1863. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography.* Cram's name is associated with the so-called "Cram" map. See Webb, *The Peninsula,* 51, 53, 55.

70. Today a seaside resort and site of an amusement park.

71. Log of the revenue steamer *Miami,* May 9, 1862.

coln, Chase, Stanton and General Wool went to Ocean View. They found that some of the troops had already gone forward. Chase and General Wool overtook the troops.[72] Lincoln and Stanton returned to Fort Monroe to await results.[73] Led by General Wool, the troops advanced overland to Norfolk without opposition, the enemy having withdrawn. At the outskirts, they were met by Mayor Lamb,[74] who surrendered the city. The Navy Yard was found in flames, fired by the Confederates just before evacuating the city.

Late that evening, almost midnight, Chase and General Wool returned to Fort Monroe. They went straight to the President's room at Quarters No. 1 with the good news, "Norfolk is ours!"[75] Stanton was so delighted that he hugged the dignified General Wool. All got up early the next morning, Sunday, May 11, for Lincoln had decided to return to Washington at 7 A.M. As they were sitting in the parlor of Quarters No. 1, Commodore Goldsborough came in with the electrifying news that the Confederates had blown up the *Merrimac* off Craney Island at 5 A.M.[76] After two months of terror, the "rebel monster" was no more. The entire Union fleet could now be sent up the James and York rivers to support General McClellan's advance on Richmond. Lincoln wanted to see the site of the *Merrimac's* destruction and also ascend the Elizabeth River to

72. *Official Records, Armies,* series I, vol. XI, part 3, p. 160, Stanton to Watson, May 10, 1862.

73. *Ibid.,* 162, Stanton to Watson, May 10, 1862.

74. William W. Lamb (1804-1874), Mayor of Norfolk, 1858-1863. During the military occupation, he was removed and confined for a while at Fort Monroe. H. W. Burton, *The History of Norfolk, Virginia* (Norfolk, 1877), 80, 158, 234.

75. *Official Records, Armies,* series I, vol. XI, part 3, pp. 162-63, Stanton to Watson, May 10, 1862.

76. *Ibid.,* 163-64, Stanton to Watson, May 11, 1862. Commander Josiah Tattnall wished to take the *Merrimac* up the James River to Richmond, but the pilots insisted that her draft was too deep to get past the Jamestown Flats. See *Official Records, Navies,* series I, vol. VII: 337, Tattnall to Mallory, May 14, 1862.

make sure the channel was not obstructed. The *Baltimore,* on which the party was to return to Washington, took them over to Craney Island, then up the Elizabeth River. At Norfolk, they found that the *Monitor, Stevens,* and *Susquehanna* had preceded them.

With the *Merrimac* out of the way, Lincoln returned to Washington much lighter of heart.[77] In the words of Secretary Chase, "So ended a brilliant week's campaign by the President; for I think it quite certain that if he had not gone down [from Washington to Fort Monroe], Norfolk would still have been in the possession of the enemy, and the *Merrimac* as grim and defiant, and as much a terror as ever."

77. *Official Records, Armies,* series I, vol. XI, part 3, p. 164, Stanton to McClellan, May 11, 1862, 2 P.M.

"Norfolk is Ours!" General Wool seems overwhelmed by the exuberance of President Lincoln and a night-shirted and capped Stanton in this cartoon published originally in Vanity Fair, *May 31, 1862.*

Illinois in 1957

COMPILED BY JAMES N. ADAMS

JANUARY

Jan. 6 The Very Rev. John J. Martin, 79, president of DePaul University 1909-1910, dies at Normandy, Missouri.

Jan. 7 James S. Copley, president of Copley Press, Inc., publishers of the *Illinois State Journal* and *Illinois State Register* of Springfield, is presented the Navy's Distinguished Public Service Award by Secretary Charles S. Thomas.

Jan. 8 The Borden Milk Company celebrates its centennial with a series of dinners beginning today. Borden has 20 plants in Illinois, employing 3,000 workers.

Samuel Cardinal Stritch presides at ceremonies elevating Our Lady of Sorrows Church, Chicago, to the rank of a basilica—Illinois' first and the United States' eleventh.

Jan. 9 The Seventieth General Assembly convenes. Warren Wood of Plainfield is elected speaker for a fourth consecutive term.

Jan. 11 Leslie C. Small, 70, publisher of the *Kankakee Daily Journal* and its predecessors since 1913, dies. Small, under Governor Charles S. Deneen, was a member of the commission which designed the Stateville penitentiary; later, under his father, Governor Len Small, he served as director of the Department of Purchases and Construction. Since 1955 he had also been publisher of the *Ottawa Republican-Times.*

Chicago sets an all-time record for gas consumption—411,000,000 cubic feet—in the 24-hours ending at noon, as temperatures dive below zero for the first time in almost two years.

Jan. 13 Jerome N. Frank, 67, judge of the United States Circuit Court

of Appeals since 1941, dies in New Haven, Connecticut. He was reared and educated in Chicago, and practiced law there for 17 years before entering the New Deal in important posts with AAA, RFC and SEC.

Jan. 14 Governor William G. Stratton, Lieutenant Governor John William Chapman, Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier and Attorney General Latham Castle are inaugurated for the second time, and State Treasurer Elmer J. Hoffman and Auditor of Public Accounts Elbert S. Smith for their first terms.

C. Wayland ("Curly") Brooks, 59, Republican national committeeman and United States senator from Illinois from 1941 to 1949, dies in Chicago.

Jan. 18 Nellie Gray of Decatur, postmistress of the Illinois House of Representatives since 1947, dies.

Jan. 22 William Tudor Ap Madoc, 83, of Chicago, state representative 1907-1913, dies.

Dr. Neil D. Vedder, 76, former president of the Illinois State Dental Society, dies at his Carollton home. He had also held numerous civic posts including the Carrollton mayoralty.

Dr. Robert Wood Keeton, 73, former head of the University of Illinois department of medicine, dies at Chicago.

A fire destroys the Continental Grain Company elevator in Chicago. Damage is estimated at $5,000,000 worth of grain and another $5,000,000 for rebuilding the structure.

Jan. 23 William E. C. Clifford, 74, of Champaign, state senator 1933-1941, dies.

Jan. 27 Robert M. Medill, 74, director of the Illinois Department of Mines and Minerals 1920-1923 and 1941-1947, dies at Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

Jan. 28 Governor Stratton names Joseph S. Gerber of Chicago as director of the State Department of Insurance. All other incumbent directors are reappointed.

FEBRUARY

Feb. 3. Willard S. Townsend, 61, of Chicago, organizer-president of the AFL-CIO United Transport Service Employees (redcaps), dies.

Feb. 7 Dr. James R. Holbert, 66, pioneer in hybrid corn development and vice-president and general manager of Funk Brothers Seed Company, dies in Bloomington.

Feb. 9 The first nuclear power generating system in the United States is activated at Argonne National Laboratory in Du Page County.

Feb. 16 Dr. Henry W. Dinkmeier, 65, president of Elmhurst College since 1948, dies.

Feb. 17 William M. Acton, 80, of Danville, state senator 1905-1909, dies.

Feb. 24 Allan Nevins, native Illinoisan, is awarded the gold medal for history and biography by the National Institute of Arts and Letters. The presentation is made on May 22.

Feb. 25 Byron O. House, 54, of Nashville, is elected to the Illinois Supreme Court to fill the unexpired term of the late Justice Ralph L. Maxwell.

MARCH

Mar. 4 Chicago celebrates the 120th anniversary of its incorporation as a city.

Mar. 10 Circuit Judge Louis E. Wilhite, 73, of Carlinville, dies.

Mar. 13 Dr. Earl R. Serles, 66, dean of the University of Illinois College of Pharmacy since 1940 and former president of the American Pharmaceutical Association, dies in his River Forest home.

Dr. Paul L. McKay, 39, of Akron, Ohio, is named president of James Millikin University, Decatur. He will be inaugurated in June, at which time C. L. Miller, acting president since the retirement in 1956 of Dr. J. Walter Malone, will resume his permanent status as dean.

Mar. 15 Louis E. Leverone, 78, former president of the National Aeronautics Association, Illinois Aviation Conference and Illinois Chamber of Commerce, dies in Chicago.

Mar. 20 Henry A. Scandrett, 80, of Evanston, former president of the Milwaukee Railroad, dies.

Mar. 21 Mrs. R. F. Herndon, Sr., 102, Springfield's oldest resident and the city's last survivor who saw Abraham Lincoln alive, dies.

A $750,000 fire damages Chicago's city hall.

Mar. 23 Illinois State Historical Society begins two-day Regional Meeting at Princeton. Approximately one hundred members and their friends attend the speaking sessions and take the Sunday morning tour of Princeton's historic sites—which is interrupted to permit attendance at services in the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church. This is the first Regional Meeting ever held by the Society.

Herrin wins the state high school basketball championship. Collinsville is second, Ottawa third, and Notre Dame High School of Quincy fourth. Bradley University, of Peoria, wins the National Invitational Tournament for college teams; Wheaton College has already won the National Collegiate Athletic Association small colleges' tournament.

State Senator John J. Gorman, Sr., 67, dies in Chicago. He had served in the General Assembly, first in the House and later in the Senate, since 1937.

Mar. 25 The state's heaviest spring snowstorm in 30 years desposits up to eight inches of snow in parts of Illinois.

Mar. 26 Murray Garsson, 68, head of a munitions combine spearheaded by two Elgin companies and one from Batavia, jailed in 1947 for war-contract frauds, dies in New York City.

Mar. 28 Monsignor Andrew J. Burns, 86, pastor of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church of Sterling for 47 years, prothonotary apostolic, and vicar-general of the Rockford diocese, dies.

APRIL

Apr. 4 John Balaban, 62, president of Balaban & Katz Corporation, operating almost a hundred theaters, dies in Chicago.

Apr. 9 Joseph F. Zientek, 81, of Chicago, state representative 1941-1953, dies.

Apr. 22 Joe Benz, 71, star pitcher with the White Sox 1911-1918, dies in Chicago.

Apr. 27 The restored home of Ulysses S. Grant is rededicated at Galena on the 135th anniversary of the General's birth.

MAY

May 3 Illinois State Historical Society holds its annual two-day Spring Tour with headquarters at Macomb. The tour itself visits the old jail in Carthage and the Mormon and modern sites of Nauvoo.

May 6 The *Chicago Daily News* is awarded the Pulitzer Prize for meritorious public service for its exposé of former Auditor Orville E. Hodge.

May 7 Arthur C. Lueder, 81, Chicago postmaster 1922-1933 and Illinois state auditor 1941-1949, dies at Lombard.

May 22 The Chicago Academy of Sciences celebrates its centennial.

May 31 The Right Rev. Msgr. Michael A. Tarrent, 77, vicar-general of the Springfield Catholic diocese since 1935 and prothonotary apostolic since 1941, dies.

JUNE

June 2 Roy A. Corzine, 74, of rural Christian County, state representative 1925-1931, dies.

June 3 Dr. Tom Douglas Spies, chairman of the Northwestern University department of nutrition and metabolism, is awarded the 1957 Distinguished Service Award of the American Medical Association.

Daniel D. Carmell, 58, general counsel for the Illinois and Chicago Federations of Labor and attorney for nine international unions, dies.

June 4 Burns M. Davison, 85, of Springfield, dies. He was Clark County state's attorney 1900-1904; secretary of the State Board of Agriculture 1914-1918; general manager of the Illinois State Fair 1918-1921; director of the Illinois Department of Agriculture 1921-1926; president of the American Association of Fairs and Expositions, director of the National Swine Growers'

Association, secretary of the Illinois Hereford Breeders Association, and vice-president of the National Association of Agriculture Commissioners.

June 26 Governor Stratton becomes the first Illinois chief executive to be elected chairman of the National Governors' Conference.

June 29 The 70th General Assembly adjourns after appropriating a record $2,293,922,000 for the next biennium – including pay raises for all of the state's employees from the governor down, and the legislators themselves Bond issues for construction at state colleges, universities and mental institutions and for payment of a bonus to servicemen who were in the armed forces during the Korean War will be subject to referenda in 1958, together with constitutional amendments for judicial reform and to permit county sheriffs and treasurers to succeed themselves. Powers of the State Auditor's office were cut in an aftermath of the Orville E. Hodge scandal, though most of the recommendations in Auditor Lloyd Morey's report were not followed. Legislation permitting Illinois to take advantage of increased federal highway funds, together with a 65-mile-per-hour speed limit on the state's highway system, was passed.

Mechanicsburg observes its 125th anniversary.

Chicago begins a 16-day Chicagoland Fair.

June 30 Springfield begins a week-long "Capitennial" celebrating the 125th anniversary of its incorporation and the 120th anniversary of its selection as the capital and Lincoln's move to Springfield from New Salem.

JULY

July 3 After numerous hearings and legal proceedings, the Chicago, Aurora & Elgin Railroad discontinues passenger service, stranding many commuters to Chicago from the western suburbs. The future of the C. A. & E. has been the subject of much discussion since construction on the Congress Street Expressway deprived it in 1953 of its direct entry into the Loop.

July 10 The United States Supreme Court orders Private William S. Girard, 21, of Ottawa, turned over to Japan for trial for man-

slaughter resulting from his killing of a Japanese woman. The decision climaxes numerous petitions and hearings on the controversial "status of forces" agreements between this and other countries. On November 19 the Japanese court finds him guilty, but suspends his three-year sentence.

July 12 Dr. Louis E. Schmidt, 88, known as the "father of modern urology," dies in Wausau, Wisconsin. His practice of more than 50 years was in Chicago, and he formerly headed the urology department of Northwestern University.

July 16 Scerial Thompson, 54, of Harrisburg, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, dies.

July 17 Mrs. H. L. (Myrtle Renwick) Heer, 80, president of the Galena Historical Society, dies. She was formerly principal of the Galena High School and Jo Daviess County superintendent of schools.

July 18 James B. Bowler, 82, congressman from Chicago's seventh district since 1953, dies. He had served 42 years on the Chicago city council. At a special election on December 31 State Senator Roland V. Libonati is chosen to fill the vacancy.

July 28 Edith Abbott, 80, dean emeritus of the University of Chicago school of social service administration, dies at Grand Island, Nebraska. She was an associate of Jane Addams at Hull House, and represented the United States as adviser to the international labor office of the League of Nations, as well as writing a number of books in her field.

AUGUST

Aug. 2 Dr. Ward Vinton Evans, 77, of Evanston, dies in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Retiring as chairman of the Northwestern University chemistry department in 1945, he had since been a professor at Loyola University. During both World Wars he took an active part in research in explosive chemistry.

Aug. 3 Fifteen- and sixteen-year-old baseball players from all over the United States gather in Springfield for the first "World Series"

of the National Boys' Baseball League. Later in the year the League amalgamates with the Pony League as "Pony League Grads," retaining the final competition site in Springfield.

Dr. Clifford R. Shaw, 61, of Batavia, dies. He was head of sociological services at the Institute for Juvenile Research, a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago, and author of numerous books and articles on juvenile delinquency.

Aug.23 Charles F. Malloy, 70, of Springfield, state representative from Bond and Madison counties 1925-1933, dies.

Aug.24 Chandlerville celebrates its 125th anniversary.

SEPTEMBER

Sept. 9 Lewis M. Long, 74, of Sandwich, congressman at large 1937-1939, dies.

Sept.19 Middletown begins a four-day celebration of its 125th anniversary.

Sept.20 As part of the Chicago Jesuit centennial celebration, Loyola University students end a re-enactment of the visit of Jolliet and Marquette to Chicago in 1673.

Sept.23 Morris B. Sachs, 61, Chicago city treasurer and prominent merchant, dies.

Sept.27 Senator Robert W. Lyons, 78, of Oakland, dies in Charleston. A veteran of 16 years in the General Assembly, he was also executive secretary of the Illinois Mental Health Commission.

OCTOBER

Oct. 4 Dr. Robert G. Bone is formally inaugurated as the ninth president of Illinois State Normal University.

Oct. 9 Dr. Morris S. Kharasch, 62, noted research chemist and director of the University of Chicago's Institute of Organic Chemistry, dies in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Oct. 11 Fifty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society begins at Illinois State Normal University, which is cele-

brating its centennial year. Highlight of the two-day event is the pioneer dinner Friday evening with its buffalo roast menu and Dr. T. Harry Williams and Richard B. Harwell as the speakers.

Oct. 13 "Our Lady of the Rivers," an 80-foot statue of the Virgin Mary made by Mrs. Anthony McClory of Mattoon, is dedicated at Portage des Sioux, near the confluence of the Illinois, Missouri and Mississippi rivers. The statue is located on the Missouri side, facing Illinois.

Oct. 16 Charles M. Hayes, 80, president of the Chicago Motor Club since 1914, dies.

Oct. 19 Victor H. Hemphill, 75, of Carlinville, dies. He was circuit judge 1933-1947, Macoupin County state's attorney and mayor of Carlinville. A member of the Blackburn College board of trustees since 1920, he had served as its president since 1945.

President E. Carl Lundgren of the Vachel Lindsay Association announces that Anthony Donoto, professor of composition at Northwestern University, has won the Association's contest for a musical setting of a Lindsay poem. Professor Donoto set "The Congo."

Oct. 20 Anderson Pace, 72, of Evanston, dies. He was chairman of the Illinois Postwar Planning Commission, and consulting engineer to six states (including Illinois) and five cities (including New York).

Donald R. Eck, 56, of Chicago, executive secretary and general manager of the National Editorial Association since 1940, dies.

Oct. 24 Dr. Harry M. McPherson, 78, of Springfield, president of Illinois Wesleyan University 1932-1937, dies. He also served as president of the Illinois Council of Churches, and as secretary of the General Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Oct. 25 The new MacMurray College for Men, to be co-ordinate but not coeducational with MacMurray College for Women, is dedicated at Jacksonville.

Oct. 27 The Daughters of the American Revolution mark the grave of Revolutionary soldier William Gillham in the East Newbern Cemetery with appropriate ceremonies.

Oct. 28 Cornelia Abigail Davidson, 87, editor of the *Carthage Republican* from 1941 to its discontinuance in 1953, and a prominent civic leader in Hancock County, dies.

NOVEMBER

Nov. 2 State Senator Glen O. Jones, 46, of Saline County, serving his first term in the senate, dies at his home near Harrisburg.

Nov.10 The Lincoln Trail Homestead State Park in Macon County, marking the site of the Lincolns' first Illinois home, is dedicated.

Nov.13 Claudius U. Stone, 78, congressman 1911-1917, Peoria postmaster 1917-1920, and editor and publisher of the *Peoria Star* 1938-1949, dies.

Nov.18 Governor Stratton names Springfield's finance commissioner, Frank H. Whitney, as Illinois' first auditor general—a "watchdog" post created by the 70th General Assembly—to take office on January 1, 1958, for a six-year term.

Nov.19 The Decatur Municipal Band, which marched in Lincoln's funeral procession and claims to be the oldest non-military band in the United States, celebrates its hundredth anniversary with a concert. It was organized September 20, 1857.

Nov.23 William W. Arnold, 80, of Robinson, congressman 1923-1935 and judge of the United States Tax Court 1935-1950, dies.

Nov.24 Hugh R. Moffet, 94, who became editor of the *Monmouth Review* in 1886, dies. He was principal owner and editor emeritus of the *Review-Atlas.* He was the author of a history of Warren County, and for years secretary of the Monmouth College trustees.

DECEMBER

Dec. 6 Michael Feinberg, 71, justice of the Illinois Appellate Court since 1946, dies. He had previously served for 20 years as a judge of the Cook County Circuit Court.

Dec. 13 Dr. George Alan Works, 80, professor emeritus of education, University of Chicago, where he served as dean of students from 1931 to 1942, dies at Ridgewood, New Jersey.

Dec. 17 Fritz Ostermueller, 50, major-league baseball pitcher 1933-1948, dies at Quincy, where he began his playing career.

Dec. 19 Conrad F. Becker, former state treasurer, is appointed by Governor Stratton as the first director of the new Department of Financial Institutions, to take office on January 1.

Dec. 21 Col. Leroy E. Nelson, 69, commander of the 132d Regiment, Illinois National Guard, which he led to strategically important victories at Guadalcanal and elsewhere in World War II, dies at Hines Hospital. Also a veteran of World War I, Col. Nelson became a vice-president of Illinois Zinc Company, from which he retired in 1953.

Dec. 22 Robert C. Zuppke, 78, University of Illinois football coach from 1913 to 1941, dies at Champaign. His teams won or tied for seven "Big Ten" championships.

Dec. 26 Thomas E. Thompson, 70, University of Illinois basketball coach 1910-1912, dies at Highland Park.

Dec. 29 The Rev. Perry Braxton Fitzwater, 86, on the faculty of Moody Bible Institute 1913-1951 and its dean 1926-1929 and 1941-1942, dies in Evanston. For twenty years Bible lessons prepared by him were syndicated in more than 2,000 newspapers.

Dec. 31 Illinois led the nation in 1957 production of biscuits, candy, crackers, horseradish, oleomargarine, pretzels and pumpkins, according to the Department of Agriculture.

Labor Director Roy F. Cummins announces that the average of 3,500,000 persons employed in non-agricultural establishments in 1957 is a new record high for the state.

Tornadoes which hit Springfield and other places never before struck highlighted a year of unusual weather conditions in Illinois.

Lincolniana Notes

A Personal Experience with "Jack" Lincoln

Martin T. Baldwin, now a retired attorney living in La Jolla, California, attended school as a youth with Abraham ("Jack") Lincoln II, grandson of the Emancipator. A picture of his former schoolmate in the Autumn, 1956 issue of this *Journal* prompted him to write an account of this acquaintance. He also recalled "standing in the crowd that watched 'Jack' Lincoln pull the cord that unveiled the Lincoln statue at the southern entrance of Lincoln Park" in Chicago. This is the famous statue by Augustus Saint-Gaudens which was unveiled on October 22, 1887. Here is Mr. Baldwin's story:

At times I have been known to ask some casual acquaintance, "would you believe me if I told you that I personally heard Abraham Lincoln, in the flesh, deliver the Gettysburg Address?" Since I was not born until 1872, the answer naturally is "No, I wouldn't believe you." And yet, that answer is wrong. The catch lies in the fact that the Abraham Lincoln whom I heard was Abraham Lincoln II, son of Robert Todd Lincoln, and grandson of the President.

In the school year of 1888-1889 I was a student at the University School, a college-prep school for boys, on the North Side in Chicago. The headmaster was accustomed to call upon each boy in the school, at least once a year, to deliver a declamation, on his feet, in open school. These were ordinary enough, of course, and not very interesting to me, until one day a fifteen-year-old boy stood up beside his desk and spoke the wonderful words of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. He did it very simply and soberly, and then sat down. Until then I had hardly known who this boy was, but as he spoke it came to me, and I realized that a rather significant event had taken place for the school boys. It made the Address seem real.

Later, I came to know "Jack" Lincoln better. He wasn't called Abraham—always Jack, in school at least, and I believe elsewhere. He was not an intimate school friend of mine, and we ordinarily had no

home or social life together, but I liked him, and there was one experience I had with him that meant something to me. This is how it happened:

The University School was a day school, not a boarding school. Practically all the boys lived in Chicago, with the exception of two or three like myself, who came from other cities. So I had to live in rented quarters. As I was pretty young, my parents solved the problem by putting me in charge of a young man who was then a law clerk in the well-established law firm of Dexter, Herrick & Allen. This young man was Frank O. Lowden, who later became Governor of Illinois, a member of Congress, and *almost* the Republican candidate for President of the United States. We two lived together, in rented rooms, in private houses, for two school years.

Naturally, however, Mr. Lowden could not baby-sit with me every evening, and on the other hand I was well out of things as far as concerned entertainment and social affairs. I was not a part of the home life of the Chicago boys. As a result I frequently felt pretty lonesome. So I decided to do something about it – I would give a party. It was to be a real party, with card playing (euchre) and refreshments, and possibly a game or two of checkers. I don't remember what refreshments I got together, but I know they included candy. There was room for us at my "apartment."

As guests I selected the three boys whom I thought I liked best at the school, one of them being Jack Lincoln. I have recently seen a photograph of Jack, printed in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. This photo is as I remember him, a good-looking and very "nice" boy with the round good-natured face of a boy of fifteen. However, I could see in his face no resemblance whatever to the rough features of his grandfather.

I selected a suitable Friday (or perhaps Saturday) evening for my party. Jack arrived at my room on time, and we began on the candy and then sat around, waiting for the other two boys. But to our surprise neither of the other two came at any time during that whole evening. Neither did they send any word of their inability to come, nor did they on the next school day give any explanation, or offer any apology. Naturally, I was too angry, and much too humiliated, ever to ask either of them why he had not come. Fortunately, I have now forgotten their names, and have no recollection as to the color of their hair or the shape of their noses. I suppose they are long since dead,— this happened about seventy years ago.

Anyhow, Jack and I made the best of it. We had our party just as though the others were with us. And I must hand it to Jack. He made no disagreeable remarks about the others and took it all in his

stride like a gentleman, playing games with me, helping me to make a success of my failure. The best of it, for me, was the fact that he had actually *come*, instead of neglecting me as had the others. At the proper going-to-bed time for a fifteen-year-old boy he went home. I have no doubt that he reported to his mother that the party was a thoroughly respectable affair.

That evening made an impression on me. It showed me the importance of "class," the sort of thing that is innate in some boys and can make them into real men. Jack must have had in him something of the quality of his grandfather. Jack Lincoln died in the month of March, 1890.

Linder's Tribute to Lincoln

Most of the tributes to Abraham Lincoln that filled the newspapers immediately after his assassination have been preserved – but one that seems to have been overlooked is that of his friend Usher F. Linder. This speech has recently been located in the *Chicago Times* of Wednesday, April 19, 1865. It had been made before a meeting of the Chicago bar on the preceding Monday but was omitted from the original report of that session because of a lack of space.

Linder was born in Kentucky just ten miles from Lincoln's birthplace, and less than six weeks after Lincoln – on March 20, 1809. But the two did not meet until after they came to Illinois. Lincoln arrived in 1830 and Linder followed in 1835. He settled in Charleston, in Coles County and Lincoln's father and stepmother were living near there. In 1836 Linder was elected to the state legislature – Lincoln was then serving his second term. Both were Whigs at that time, but later, upon the dissolution of the Whig Party, Linder became a Democrat. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Democratic conventions in Charleston, South Carolina and Baltimore, Maryland.

Lincoln and Linder were also closely associated in legal affairs. In 1853 Lincoln wrote to Linder that a change in the circuits prevented his "attending the Edgar court this Spring." He asked Linder to defend a case there for him

for which he had already been paid a small fee. Lincoln concluded his letter with these words: "Now I dislike to keep their money without doing them the service; & I also hate to disgorge; and I therefore request of you to defend the case for me; & I will, in due time, do as much or more for you."

Linder had occasion in 1856 to ask for Lincoln's help in the defense of his son Dan who had been involved in a shooting which it was feared would be fatal. Lincoln promised to help his old friend and would accept no fee. But as matters turned out his services were not needed for the man who had been shot, John Boyle, recovered.[1]

Later, when he was President, Lincoln actually did help his old friend. This act of kindness also concerned Linder's son Dan. The following excerpts from letters are taken from *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,*[2] Vol. VII, pages 87, 91, 94-95. On December 22, 1863 Lincoln wrote to the Military Commander at Point Lookout, Maryland: "If you have a prisoner by the name Linder – Daniel Linder, I think, and certainly the son of U. F. Linder, of Illinois, please send him to me by an officer." On December 24, he wrote again to the Military Commander at Point Lookout: "If you send Linder to me as directed a day or two ago, also send Edwin C. Claybrook,[3] of 9th. Virginia rebel cavalry."

On the day after Christmas, 1863, Abraham Lincoln wrote to his old friend: "Your son Dan. has just left me, with my order to the Sec. of War, to administer to him the oath of allegiance, discharge him & send him to you." To Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, Lincoln sent the follow-

1. Charles H. Coleman, *Abraham Lincoln and Coles County, Illinois* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1955), 117-19.

2. Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, eds. (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953).

3. Edwin C. Claybrook was the son of Colonel R. A. Claybrook of Northumberland, Virginia. In *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1933) Bates says, under date of December 24, 1863, "The Prest: is anxious to gratify Linder, the father, who is his old friend; and I am very anxious to make a New Year's gift of Claybrook, to his father and family." Edward Bates was Lincoln's attorney general.

ing: "Daniel W. Linder, the Daniel Linder named within, is the son of my friend U. F. Linder, at Chicago, Ills. Please administer the oath of allegiance to him, discharge him, and send him to his father."

It is not surprising that Linder's voice was filled with emotion as he paid tribute to his long-time friend. The story in the *Chicago Times,* headed "Reminiscences of President Lincoln / An Affecting Narrative of Personal Recollections / Remarks of an Old Associate and Intimate Friend," follows:

> At the meeting of the bar of Chicago, held on Monday, to take appropriate action with regard to the late national affliction, Mr. U. F. Linder delivered an eloquent tribute to the memory of the departed president. His remarks, occurring near the close of the meeting, were unavoidably crowded out of the otherwise complete report which was published in THE TIMES yesterday morning. Mr. Linder had known Mr. Lincoln intimately from boyhood; both were born near the same place in Kentucky; they had removed to Illinois at nearly the same time; had practiced law together; and for many years were warm-hearted friends. The reminiscences of Mr. Lincoln, which Mr. Linder narrated in his remarks, were affecting beyond account, and more than one, as he listened to the tremulous tones of the speaker, was visibly moved to tears.
>
> Mr. Linder's voice, usually clear and low, was toned down by the emotion which he exhibited in his countenance, and by the recollections, of which in his speech, he gave the record. He said:
>
> "I feel that I cannot let this occasion go by without laying a tribute—a humble tribute—of mine upon the grave of him whom I so long since learned to love. It is but little I can say of Abraham Lincoln, because all of his life and character has become as household words and was perhaps better known than any other man, alive or dead.
>
> "It was my lot, fortunately, to know Abraham Lincoln before he was known to the nation. I knew him, or became acquainted with him, about or a little before the commencement of his career as a lawyer and a public man. I was introduced to him at the hotel in Charleston, in this state, in the year 1835. He was dressed in a plain suit of jean, and looked like a quiet, unassuming farmer. There struck me then, more than anything else in the man, the expression of goodness and kindness which gleamed in his eyes, and which sat there all the days of his life; and it has seemed to me a hundred times since

I heard of his assassination that no man could have looked in his face and assassinated him. There was too much that commanded respect and too much of mercy for any man facing him to do him harm. Others have expressed Mr. Lincoln's character much better than I could, and I dislike to attempt it, I should fall short of doing him justice; therefore I shall not attempt it. The outlines of his character are so great and grand, and so peculiar in themselves, distinguishing him from all other men, that it would take a historian of no ordinary character to properly describe them, to give to posterity the correct portraiture of the man. Wherever he came he brought sunshine. All men hailed him as an addition to their circle. He was genial; he was humorous; he was clear in the expression of his sentiments; he was honest. But in all his career, in all his humor, there was nothing that ever came from him that planted a thorn or a dagger in any man's heart.

"I am one of those who stand a very great distance from the sublime character of Lincoln; but I feel it an honor, here, to-day, to have been born within ten miles from where he saw first the light of day, and to have made my appearance in the world about one month from the day on which he did. I have known him intimately since I came to the state of Illinois. I knew his father and his relative[s] in Kentucky. They were a good family. They were poor, and the very poorest people, I might say, of the middle classes, but they were true. No man who has known Lincoln as a friend, as I have known him, was ever afraid to call upon him for his aid, or was ever afraid to ask of him a kindness."

The speaker much moved with emotion, then referred to an incident of his acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln, when a son of his being in difficulty growing out of a homicide, he had occasion to test the friendship of the late president. He said: "On that occasion many seemed to avail themselves of the opportunity to wreak vengenance [*sic*] upon me in the death of my son. I wrote to Mr. Lincoln, I was in a quarter of the country where I knew he was a tower of strength: where his name raised up friends; where his arguments at law had more power than the instructions of the court. I feared, lest many of his political friends being united against my son, that his services and his talents might be enlisted against him. I wrote to him giving him all the circumstances, telling him of my wife's grief and my own, and soliciting that he would come and assist me to defend my son; that I thought he had been employed against him. I preserved his letter for a long time; I wish I had it now; I should rejoice in its possession; I would work hard to obtain the means to frame it in gold. The sum of it was this: He condoled with me and my wife in our misfortune, and assured us that, no matter what business he might be engaged in, he would come, and that he was truly sorry that I had supposed that

he would take part in the prosecution of the son of a friend of his. I had offered him a fee, and in that letter he also said he knew of no act of his life that would justify me in supposing that he would take money from me or any dear friend for assisting in the defence of the life of a child.

"I give this as a proof of his friendship, and that friendship has been cherished by me through all mutations of life. In politics we have ever been opposed, but I thank God, to-day, that he always was my friend, and that I cannot refer to any ill-natured remark or reflection upon Abraham Lincoln that ever I made. I have frequently criticized his political sentiments, but I have taken occasion, sometimes among those who did not relish it very well, to do full justice to his character as a man, a citizen and a friend.

"I wish to say that his friendship to me has continued up to a very recent period. It was the fortune of the same son to move south before this rebellion broke out. By some means he was enlisted in the service of the rebel enemy. My friends here know, as you judges who sit upon the bench know, that I called upon them to unite with me in adding your influence to mine to prevail upon President Lincoln to induce him to release my boy from prison. He was captured a year and a half ago. Mr. Lincoln did so, without any hesitation, and he took the pains—it was the day before Christmas a year ago, and it made my home happy—to telegraph me of the fact which he stated (he always said things short, as he said, I believe, things better than anybody else) in his usual manner. He said to me: 'Your son has just left me with my order to the secretary of war to administer the oath of allegiance. I send him home to you and his mother.' I wish I had his telegram here. The mother of my boy still preserves it, and I left it to-day to be framed in the most gorgeous style my means will afford."

* * * * *[4]

"Let us, now that the great struggle is over—the struggle that has resulted in the overthrow of this rebellion and the emancipation of four millions of slaves—let us forget all our old party issues, all our party pride, and bring them up to lay upon the grave of the best man that ever lived, as a suitable offering for the occasion. Let them be buried with him, and let us, as one united people, press on in pursuing the line of policy in which he would have marched to accomplish the proudest of his ambitions, and we shall gratify his spirit, now in the world above. Let us pursue this course, for if another than that be taken it would be a reflection on him. Let us not fear to do justice,—

4. These asterisks are in the newspaper account of the speech. Possibly they mean that a portion of Linder's tribute to Lincoln has been omitted.

that justice tempered by the same mercy that Abraham Lincoln would have shown,—and we will add the finishing touch to his work. We will have done that which his spirit will look down upon with an approving smile and with the words upon his kindly and loving lips, 'It is finished; now Lord receive me and my people into thy kingdom.'"

From an Eyewitness at Gettysburg

In an undated newspaper clipping (apparently from the *Kansas City Star* and for sometime in November, 1928) is reprinted a letter written from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, just ten days after Abraham Lincoln's immortal address there on November 19, 1863. The letter (in 1928) was the property of Mrs. W. E. Groendycke, 3808 Wyoming Street, Kansas City, Missouri. In enclosing a copy of it to the *Star* Mrs. Groendycke said:

> The letter was written . . . to my grandfather, Andrew Sweney, by his brother Harvey, who lived at Gettysburg, and whose farm formed part of the battle ground. His home was a sharpshooters' nest, and the house which is yet standing [1928], still has the holes made by bullets. Grandfather, though 63 years of age, was a member of Company H., 37th regiment, Iowa Volunteers, stationed at that time at Alton, Ill.

The *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . . (Des Moines, 1911), V: 819, has this to say of Andrew Sweney:

> Age 62. Residence Albia, nativity, Pennsylvania. Enlisted Oct. 10, 1862. Mustered Nov. 20, 1862. Promoted Third Corporal April 27, 1863; Second Corporal Jan. 2, 1864. Mustered out May 24, 1865, Davenport, Iowa.

Harvey's letter to his brother Andrew follows:

> Gettysburg, Pa., November 29, 1863.
>
> Dear Brother:
>
> I received yours of the 16th inst. in due time, though not till a few days after the 19th, that day long to be remembered in the history of our country. I am exceedingly sorry that you could not have made it suitable to have been here; it would have paid all other losses. It

was an entire success, all that was promised. The weather, too, was mild and clear.

For some days before the 19th our town was filled with strangers eager to secure a place to stay during the memorable day. All the rooms in the hotels were engaged several weeks ahead, but our old town roused up to action—meetings were held and committees were appointed to wait on strangers and procure them accommodations. In every house large and small, high and low, you could hear the sound of busy preparations. Churches, public schools, town halls, all the private dwellings, barns, etc., were thrown open to receive them. Every house groaned with the good things of this life prepared to please the coming crowd.

On the morning of the 18th the heavy trains of cars began to pour in, ladened with masses of human beings. Train after train came. Nothing scarcely could be heard but the loud snort of the iron horse and the rumble of the long and heavy trains. By evening every building, public or private, was filled, and for miles around town the houses were filled with the congregated throng. Some of our most humble families in their little homes were astonished when they discovered the guests they were entertaining were senators, congressmen, and the great men of the nation, glad to share their hospitalities and to remunerate them well for it.

About 6 o'clock in the evening the special train containing President Lincoln, part of his cabinet, foreign ministers, the governors of the different free states, officers of high standing and other diginitaries arrived, which was the signal that this was to be one of the most grand and interesting occasions that this country ever witnessed. A few short speeches were made that night by the President and some of the leading men in response to calls made on them at the houses of which they were guests.

Early on the morning of the 19th everything was bustle and commotion. At daylight the streets were a dense mass of living beings. Crowds were moving to Cemetery Hill and wending their way over the bloody battle grounds of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of July, seeking for some relics of the noble dead who so valiantly stopped the tide of the rebel horde flushed with the first day's victory, and laid down their lives for their country. About 9 o'clock the roll of the drum and the heavy rumble of cannon announced the preparations of the day, when the loud booming of the minute guns on Cemetery Heights gave warning of the solemn occasion. At 10 o'clock the procession was formed and began to move. This was a grand and impressive sight. I have no language to depict it and though the mighty mass rolled on as the waves of the ocean, everything was in perfect order.

First came a detachment of cavalry, then the Philadelphia band, then a detachment of infantry, then the President's body guard, then the Marine band of Washington City, then the President and his cabinet all mounted, and other official dignitaries, then about 2,000 infantry followed by some mounted men, then the New York band, then the delegations of the several states in order headed by Pennsylvania, with their marshals mounted on beautiful horses and wearing handsome costumes—a living sea of human beings.

But the greatest of the great men that honored this occasion was President Lincoln, mounted on a beautiful bay charger, between Seward and Chase. Like Saul of old, he towered a head taller than any other man. He sat gracefully bowing, with a modest smile and uncovered head, to the throng of men, women and children who greeted him from the doors and windows. His modest appearance and dignified manner, to say nothing of the noble speech he made here, have endeared him to the hearts of the people and added thousands of friends to him on that day. But though he looked cheerful and happy that day, an observant eye could see that the dreadful responsibility that this nation and this wicked rebellion have cast upon him have had a marked effect, and that he feels the terrible responsibility that rests upon him.

On the morning of the 20th,[5] he and his cabinet and most of the official men left for their homes, but not without promising soon to visit this sacred spot again. Many strangers remained for a week and there are a considerable number here yet. The citizens of this town (though it was feared that many could not get any accommodations here at all) have the honor to say that they bountifully supplied all that were here and had enough left to have fed half as many more. The number of persons assembled here on the occasion, from the estimate of those best able to judge, was from 25,000 to 40,000. Everything passed off pleasantly and our town is assuming its usual appearance, though it has become a place of note since the memorable battle of July and is, as you remark, destined to be one of those places which will go down in history to the coming generations.

About half the brave boys that fell here are now removed and buried in the National cemetery, and the work is going briskly on, so that ere long they will all be consigned to their honored resting place. It is a beautiful spot. They are buried in semicircles facing the center where the monument is to be erected. The soldiers of each state are buried together. Peace to their ashes! The amount of money spent

5. The President's special train left Gettysburg at 6:30 P.M. on Nov. 19 and it was after midnight when he reached Washington.

here will be very large, from $200,000 to $400,000, as no expense will be spared to make it an honor to the nation and a noble tribute to the brave men that fell here and whose blood consecrated this spot.

I would have rejoiced could you have been here, indeed I had hoped to see you here at that time. To you it would have been truly an interesting and solemn occasion, not only to have witnessed one of the grandest and most solemn assemblages the world has ever seen, but to have trod once again upon the soil of your native home and your youth and visited the last resting place of our dear and honored parents, sisters and brothers, besides meeting many who were your youthful associates. As I only remain here as a representative of a large and honored stock who were among the first settlers of this country, and expect soon to follow the rest of my friends to the West, it would have made me glad to have welcomed you here while I remained.

I will have to close, tendering my sincere affection to you.

Your brother,

H. SWENEY.

Debates Book Issued by Historical Library

Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858, edited and with an introduction by Paul M. Angle, has been issued by the Illinois State Historical Library as Volume XXXIII in its *Collections* series.

In addition to the full text of the seven Lincoln-Douglas Debates the book contains three preliminary speeches by Lincoln (at Springfield, June 16 and July 17, and at Chicago, July 10) and two by Douglas (at Chicago, July 9, and at Springfield, July 17), plus contemporary newspaper accounts of some of the speeches made between the formal debates. Angle's thirty-three page introduction and his notes establish the background and tie the story together.

Created Equal? will be reviewed in the Summer issue of this *Journal* by Dr. Charles H. Coleman, professor of Social Science at Eastern Illinois University and the author of several books about Lincoln, the most recent of which was *The Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858* (see page 112).

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Beginning in this issue, the *Journal* will present news of the more important recent acquisitions of the Illinois State Historical Library. While space does not permit a complete listing of all new books and other material received, it is hoped that this running account of the Historical Library's major accessions will help to keep the Historical Society's members better informed as to what is available, and to remind them of the continuing needs of a growing collection.

The papers and a great part of the library of the late Kent Ellsworth Keller of Ava, Illinois, have recently been donated by his nephew, Phillip J. Keller. Serving in Congress from the old twenty-fifth district (1931-1941), Kent Keller was southern Illinois' leading spokesmen in the Democratic Party during the days of the New Deal.

Born (in 1867) and reared near Ava, Jackson County, he had begun the practice of law only a short time before ill health caused him to move to Mexico. Twelve years in that country brought renewed health and some success in copper mining, but in 1912 he returned to Illinois to enter politics. He served first in the state senate (1913-1917) and in 1930 was elected to Congress. His book, *Prosperity Through Employment* (1936) expressed his New Deal views on the major problems of the decade. He was active on the committee on labor and became chairman of the Committee on the Library (of Congress), but today his monument as a southern Illinois representative is the man-made Crab Orchard Lake in Williamson County. Though unsuccessful in bidding for re-election in the 1940's, he remained active and influential to the time of his death in 1954. His personal papers, estimated to consist of more than 50,000 items, cover every aspect of his career. They are being processed but are not yet available to the public.

Two letters of advice from Lincoln to aspiring young lawyers have recently been acquired by the Historical Library. Replying to a query from J. M. Brockman, a school teacher of Pleasant Plains, Illinois, Lincoln wrote on September 25, 1860, that the "best mode" of studying law "is very simple, though laborious and tedious. It is only to get the books, and read, and study them carefully. . . . Work, work, work, is the main thing."

Another similar letter has been

presented to the Library by Mrs. John G. Oglesby of Springfield, Illinois. Written in 1858 to young William H. Grimsby at Pekin, Illinois, the letter advises that "if you wish to be a lawyer, attach no consequence to the place you are in, or the person you are with, but get books for yourself. That will make a lawyer of you quicker than any other way." Only three other letters of advice from Lincoln to young lawyers are known to exist, and each repeats the same theme.

Lincoln's unsolicited but much needed advice to his step-brother John D. Johnston provides the main interest of his letter of November 4, 1851, recently presented to the Historical Library by Mrs. Foreman Lebold of Chicago. Writing from Shelbyville, Illinois, Lincoln argued that Johnston's proposed move to Missouri was "utterly foolish. What can you do in Missouri, better than here? Is the land any richer? Can you there, any more than here, raise corn, & wheat & oats, without work? . . . If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you can not get along any where. Squirming and crawling about from place to place can do no good." At the end, he added a brief note to his step-mother – his only known letter to her.

The original war journal and a collection of all the known personal papers of Brigadier General Jacob Ammen (1807-1894) have been added to the Library's collections on the Civil War. The 150-page journal contains a fuller record of his field services than is found in the *Official Records,* and details especially well his role at Shiloh and Corinth. In the more than three hundred letters and documents there are many concerning his service in Illinois dealing with mutinous prisoners, contraband, deserters, copperheads and related problems of a border area commander. The story of his relations with then Governor Andrew Johnson while in East Tennessee in 1864 is also well documented.

The exhibit at the library on February 14 of American and English Valentines from an earlier day represented a selection from a group of more than six hundred donated recently by Mrs. Donna E. Workman of Chicago. Like those of today, they range from the backslapping comic to the wholeheartedly sentimental – reminders of an often neglected tradition of humor and tenderness.

A file of the early volumes of the *Central Illinois Wochenblatt,* a German-language weekly published in Ottawa between 1868 and 1925, has been added to the Historical Library's newspaper collections through the generosity of George Witte, son of the former publisher. The file is nearly complete from the first issue to 1921. The only other known file is for the years 1917-1925, at the University of Illinois.

Book Reviews

LINCOLN, A PICTURE STORY OF HIS LIFE

By Stefan Lorant. Revised and enlarged ed. (Harper & Brothers: New York, 1957. Pp. 304. $7.50.)

The 1952 edition of this book contained 256 pages. The present, revised and enlarged edition, has 304. Most of the new material consists of additional illustrations. The other volume was a handsome book—this is even more so.

Among the new material is a recently discovered photograph of Lincoln at Gettysburg, greatly enlarged, which is shown instead of the reproduction of the Norman Rockwell painting of the Gettysburg scene. In addition to the chapter on the Leonard Volk life mask, there are two pages of illustrations of the lesser known, but striking, mask made by Clark Mills just two months before Lincoln's assassination. There is also a chapter on Lincoln's Supreme Court with an excellent photograph of that august tribunal at the beginning of the year 1865. And much new material has been added on Lincoln in cartoons and caricatures.

The sections on the assassination, funeral and trial of the conspirators have been greatly enlarged. All the pictures the curious could want to see are here reproduced, including the chair in which Lincoln sat at the theater, and the pistol which killed him. There are also pictures of the funeral in various cities, a map of the route of the funeral train, and pictures of the conspirators, their trial and grim fate.

One especially interesting photograph, at least to this reviewer, shows the funeral procession in New York City on Broadway at Fourteenth Street passing the Van Schaack Roosevelt house. Six-and-one-half-year-old Theodore Roosevelt and his brother Elliot are watching the procession from the second story of their grandfather's home.

As in the 1952 edition the photographs of Lincoln are arranged in chronological order and numbered. Lorant now has 102 numbered photographs. There were 100 in the 1952 edition. Picture 101, however, is placed in the correct chronological order but given the number 101. Picture 102 is the newly discovered one of Lincoln at Gettysburg. It is placed at the end where it belongs numerically, and because it is a photograph of Lincoln in a group.

There is one change in the old

numbering, however. Lorant number 15 in this new edition is the Lincoln profile belonging to the Smithsonian Institution. Its Meserve number is 124. Lorant says, though, that he is not sure that it is a photographic portrait. It replaces the number 15 of the first edition which is not included this time. According to Lorant that turned out to be a touched-up enlargement of Lorant 20 (Meserve 26).

Genuine autographed Lincoln photographs are extremely rare. Here for the first time altogether are shown six of these. For each there is a brief description and information as to where it is located.

S. A. W.

MANTON MARBLE OF THE NEW YORK "WORLD"

By Sister Mary Cortona Phelan. (The Catholic University of America Press: Washington, D. C., 1957. Pp. 135.)

Manton Malone Marble became the owner of the *New York World* in 1862 when he was only twenty-six years old. But he was considered well prepared to serve as editor of the paper since he had worked on several other publications, including the *New York Evening Post.* Marble was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, on November 15 (not 16), 1835, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Rochester in 1855. Although he did not become as well known as his editorial colleagues—James Gordon Bennett, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, and Henry J. Raymond—Marble played an important role in the publishing world. Unfortunately, he is too often remembered only for his unhappy relations with President Abraham Lincoln.

Through no fault of Marble's, the *World* published (on May 18, 1864) a bogus proclamation which had been invented by Joseph Howard, Jr. and foisted upon New York newspapers as a genuine Associated Press story. This forgery purported to be a proclamation by President Lincoln calling for a day of prayer and a new draft of 400,000 men. Howard had perpetrated the scheme in order to profit by the reaction of the stock market to the "proclamation." The *Journal of Commerce* also published the forgery, but the *Herald* discovered the truth before its edition was released. Secretary of War Stanton immediately obtained Lincoln's signature to a document which ordered the arrest of Marble and William C. Prime, editor of the *Journal of Commerce,* and the seizure of their printing establishments. This act was probably Lincoln's greatest blunder; Stanton and Seward should have investigated the matter before issuing such a tyrannical order. When General John A. Dix discovered that the editors were not to blame, he released them on May 20, but the *World* was not allowed to resume publication until May 23.

This biography is not a definitive work and Sister Mary Cortona admits, in the preface, that her study has not probed all the corners of Marble's life. The source materials for her thesis consist mainly of the Marble Papers (Library of Congress) and the files of the *New York World*. Very few other sources have been utilized and this neglect has led to numerous errors and omissions. For example, on page 3 the author assumes that the "Frank" Marble mentioned in an obituary notice was in reality Melvin Marble (another brother of Manton's) since the deceased was listed as a junior at the University of Rochester. She reasons that Frank would have been too old—according to a census report in 1850—to have been an undergraduate in 1862. The registrar at the University of Rochester, however, corroborates the obituary notice and declares that the young man in question was Frank; Melvin Marble was never registered at the University! Perhaps the census report is in error since the *Rochester Union & Advertizer* of June 14, 1862, gives Frank's age as "about twenty." On page 33 the date for the reappearance of the *World* should be May 23, not 22, and on pages [113] and 115 the date that the *World* published the bogus proclamation should be May 18, not 17.

WAYNE C. TEMPLE
Illinois State Museum

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE AT CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS, SEPTEMBER 18, 1858.

By Charles H. Coleman. (Eastern Illinois University *Bulletin* No. 220, October 1, 1957: Charleston, Ill. Pp. 107.)

The year 1858 was a memorable one in Illinois history. It was the year of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates—1958 will also be memorable in Illinois for centennial celebrations in most, if not all, of the towns where those debates were held.

This little book on the Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Charleston will be valuable to all who have anything to do with arranging for centennial celebrations as well as to all who are interested in reading about the debates. It is really an excellent and concise account of the circumstances that led up to the debates, a brief summary of the seven debates themselves, and the personalities involved. There are biographical sketches of four Charleston friends of Lincoln's, a setting of the local scene and, finally, the text of the Charleston debate with notes.

Appendix "A" is a "Political Chronology, 1854-1858." Appendix "B" shows how Coles County voted from 1852 to 1864, and how Charleston voted in 1858. There is a list of references and an index.

Charles H. Coleman is professor of social science at Eastern Illinois University and the authority on Lin-

coln and Coles County. He is the author of two books on the Lincoln theme: *Sarah Bush Lincoln, The Mother Who Survived Him* (1952), and *Abraham Lincoln and Coles County, Illinois* (1955). Professor Coleman is also the author of many magazine articles. S. A. W.

THE FRONTIER IN PERSPECTIVE

Edited by Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber. (The University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1957. Pp. 300. $5.50.)

The thirteen essays constituting this volume originally were delivered as lectures at the summer session of 1954 at the University of Wisconsin. The series was given in honor of the memory of Lyman Copeland Draper on the occasion of the centennial of his arrival at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as its corresponding secretary.

The essayists were urged "to take the Turner thesis of the significance of the frontier to United States history as a reference point." Each has applied the frontier thesis to his own area of interest. The result is a brilliant collection of essays concerning many different frontiers. The first seven chapters are on world frontiers while the last six have to do with the frontier of the United States. The only significant area of the world which is missing is Africa.

Space does not permit the notice of each author or more than a list of the topics discussed. Let it suffice to say that each writer is a competent authority in the field discussed. The first seven essays deal with the rise of Rome, the Mediterranean frontier after 1000 A. D., the frontiers of Hispanic America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Also included are discussions of Russian and Chinese expansion in the Far East. This first section is closed by Walter P. Webb with an attempt to reduce the frontier question to formula.

The second section of the book contains six essays dealing with the American frontier. There are discussions of the southern frontier, land tenure on the frontier, and the influence of classics on the frontier, while one chapter deals with Mark Twain as an interpreter of the Far West. The final chapter has to do with the influence of the Indian on American civilization.

There are many intriguing ideas in this volume. One that appealed to the reviewer was the point made by Professor Silvio Zavala, Mexican historian, of the likeness of the Latin- and Anglo-American frontiers. He suggests that the meeting of these frontiers in southwestern United States should be studied not in terms of politics and war but "with reference to social exchanges and adjustments that occurred."

Generally speaking the authors deal with the frontier as the point of impact of a more civilized group on one of lesser culture. Perhaps the most important point made in

the book is that every frontier is really two—that of the conquerors and the conquered. This could become an important new area of research—the effect on the conquered and the reciprocal influence of the conquered on their conquerors.

DONALD F. TINGLEY
Eastern Illinois University

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE SWEDISH IMMIGRANT: SELECTED REFERENCES

Compiled by O. Fritiof Ander. (*Augustana Library Publications,* No. 27, Augustana Book Concern, Printers: Rock Island, Illinois, [1957], Pp. XIX, 191, $3.00.)

By preparing and making available the volume under review, Professor O. Fritiof Ander has performed an important service to the historical profession. Professor Ander has thoroughly analyzed the enormous mass of literature extant here and in Sweden dealing with Swedish immigration to the United States. And from these materials he has presented an extensive, evaluated, but none-the-less selective biblography. Professor Ander's contribution will serve not only researchers in the field of Swedish immigration but it will also be of special value to historians interested in such subjects as railroads, steamship and packet lines, western land promotion and settlement, state and local history, church history, education, and the arts.

The volume and nature of the materials lend themselves to classification much as the compiler has presented them: bibliography of bibliographies, background of Swedish emigration, American books, emigrant guide books and finally the role of the Swedes in the respective aspects of American life and culture.

As a preface to each bibliographical grouping or section, Professor Ander has presented a brief but informative essay which creates the proper setting for the bibliographical listings and which explains the compiler's bases for selection. These commentaries reveal the author's comprehensive knowledge of the whole field of Swedish emigration and immigration and are, therefore, a valuable contribution. Professor Ander has made clear his bases for selectivity. He has included those references which bear directly on the immigrant — his reason for emigrating, his role on the American scene. He has excluded the fictional works and items relating to Swedes whose roles in American life, like those of movie stars, have not been associated with Swedish immigrant groups in the New World. The work as a whole bears every mark of intelligent and painstakingly careful workmanship.

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER
Indiana University

News and Comment

Spring Tour at Cairo, May 24 and 25

The directors have set May 24 and 25 as the dates and Cairo as the place for the annual Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society. These dates are a Saturday and Sunday and this represents a change from the previous practice of holding these meetings on Friday and Saturday. Headquarters will be at the Hotel Cairo and the tours will include the historic sites of the city of Cairo and the Civil War installations nearby—part of expedition is expected to be made by boat. Detailed programs will be sent to the Society's membership.

Historical Library Receives Plaque

The Illinois State Historical Library was the only agency of the State of Illinois to receive an "Outstanding Citizenship" award as a result of Springfield's United Fund-Red Cross campaign for 1957-1958. Presentation of the award, a ten-by-thirteen-inch, bronze-colored plaque was made at a luncheon on January 9 at the Springfield Elks Club. In addition to the Historical Library, nineteen Springfield firms—banks, retail stores, manufacturing plants, insurance agencies and a radio station—received the plaques, which were distributed for the first time this year. The awards were based upon the amount of the contribution plus one hundred per cent participation in the drive by offices or companies having fifteen or more employees.

Student Historians in Newspaper Feature

Auroraland, the Saturday tabloid magazine section of the *Aurora Beacon-News,* on January 4 featured four of the city's student historians in a front-cover picture and a two-page article as a result of their own writing which appeared in the December, 1957 issue of *Illinois History* magazine.

The four teen-agers, two boys and two girls, are members of the Junior Historian Club of the Benjamin Franklin Junior High School in Aurora, which is sponsored by Mrs. LaVere Ross, an instructor in English. They combined their efforts to present, in four articles, the "Portrait of a Pioneer Town"—the Aurora of a century ago. The articles were reprinted in full in the

PHOTO BY SPRING STUDIOS, AURORA

These four student historians of Benjamin Franklin Junior High School, Aurora, are examining their articles published in the December, 1957 issue of Illinois History *magazine. They are, left to right, Betty Baumgartner and Joyce Moody, seated, and Tom Jones and Stephen Konen, standing. This picture appeared on the front cover of* Auroraland, *the Saturday magazine section of the* Aurora Beacon-News, *January 4.*

Beacon-News feature along with the introduction to the series by the editor of *Illinois History,* Phyllis E. Connolly.

In the first of the articles, titled "Here Comes the Bride," Joyce Moody, fourteen-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Moody, 345 Cedar Street, Aurora, told the story of the first wedding in what is now Aurora Township, Kane County, in 1835. She then contrasted this with another marriage that took place fifty-three years later.

"The Old General Store" was the title of the second article which was written by Betty Baumgartner, thirteen, whose parents are Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Baumgartner, 1132 Garfield Avenue. In the magazine the article was illustrated by pictures of a tobacco-plug cutter and a coffee grinder of the last century, and the newspaper used a photograph of an "Aurora general store around 1860."

The two boys, both thirteen-year-olds, were Tom Jones, son of Mr. and Mrs. Tom Jones, Sr., 412 Florida Avenue, and Stephen Konen, son of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Konen, 1283 North Lake Street. Tom's article, "It Pays to Advertise," was based on advertisements in *Brigham's Aurora City Directory* for 1857 which he found in the Aurora Historical Museum. Using as his title Aurora's nickname, "The City of Bridges," Stephen told about the city's first bridge which was constructed by Joseph and Samuel McCarty in 1836 and lasted until the floods of the next spring, and about some of the later models, including the two covered bridges built in 1863.

Second Historical Exhibit at Lincoln College

Signatures of all fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, plus the only known copy of the signature of Betsy Ross as Elizabeth Ross, were among the 102 early American autographs, manuscripts and memorabilia composing an exhibit that was on display during the first six weeks of the year at Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois. This collection was loaned by the noted collector, Justin G. Turner of Los Angeles, and covered the period from 1630 to 1800. It was the second in a series of such exhibits to be sponsored by President Raymond N. Dooley and the College to stimulate interest in American history.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Mrs. John Lemp spoke on the lives of John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and John Russell at the Alton Area Historical Society meeting on November 10. Mrs. Thomas Morgan reviewed the story of Barbara Fritchie, and the legend of the Piasa Bird, as written by the late Georgia McAdams, was given by Mrs. H. E. Winans. All the Society's officers — John F. Stobbs, president; Maitland Timmermeier, vice-president; Mrs. John F. Stobbs, secretary; and Lester Meyer, treasurer—were re-elected.

Mrs. Harry L. Meyer read a tribute to the late Mrs. Anna King, a charter member of the Society, at the meeting on December 8. She also gave a resumé of the Society's past Christmas programs during its ten years of existence. Mrs. Frank Stobbs gave a history of Christmas carols.

Dr. Donald MacNeil, assistant director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was the speaker at the Boone County Historical Society's twentieth-anniversary meeting on November 15. Larry Kleber reviewed the Society's past, and Sidney Nash and Perry Cratty presented its objectives for the future. There were also special musical numbers and refreshments. C. Fred Lewis is president of the Society, and Dr. E. W. Mill was chairman of arrangements.

The opening of Holiday House at Magnolia Manor, the home of the Cairo Historical Association, again marked the beginning of the holiday season in Cairo. This fifth annual opening, November 28-December 1, featured decorations by Sandow Myers, Charles Steinhouse and Charles Main. Other civic organizations also aided.

Andrew McNally III, president of Rand McNally, is the new president of the Chicago Historical Society, succeeding Hermon Dunlap Smith. Theodore Tieken and James R. Getz are first and second vice-presidents respectively; Paul M. Angle,

secretary; and Garfield King, treasurer. The Society opened its remodeled Illinois Room on December 3, the one hundred and thirty-ninth anniversary of the state's admission to the Union.

The Du Page County Historical Society held its annual Harvest Dinner on November 15 at the Woodridge Country Club near Lisle. Hugh G. Dugan presided in the absence of President Helmut A. Berens who was still convalescing from his heart attack of last July. Dr. Norman F. Hilberry, director of the Argonne National Laboratory, was the speaker of the evening.

Members of the Society were guests at a Fall Tea on October 20 at Hobson House near Naperville, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Fredenhagen. This house, which was built in 1835 by Bailey Hobson, the county's first settler, has been restored and adapted to modern living by its present owners.

Hobson House is one of eight historic homes, taverns and mills whose pictures and stories compose the second in the series of Du Page County Historical Society Portfolios which were distributed to members in December. As in the first issue each of the eleven-by-fourteen-inch pages is devoted to one building with a pen and ink drawing by H. Gilbert Foote at the top of the page and a historical sketch by a member of the Society below it.

The Evanston Historical Society conducted tours of the Charles G. Dawes home on December 15. Plans call for the home, which became the property of Northwestern University on the death of Mrs. Dawes last October, to become the Dawes Memorial Historical Center and the home of the Evanston Society.

The numerous gifts received by the Geneva Historical Society since its annual meeting in May were on display at the Library on December 8. Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, president of the Society, spoke on the life and writings of James H. West, pastor of the Geneva Unitarian Church 1884-1887.

Elizabeth L. Kell, secretary of the Jefferson County Historical Society, planned that group's Illinois Day meeting on December 3 and gave a resumé of Illinois history before the state's admission to the Union. Mrs. A. H. Waters presented a paper on "A Glimpse of Little Egypt from Bald Knob," originally prepared as a term paper for Mt. Vernon Community College. The Society voted to donate a two-year subscription to *Illinois History* to the library of Casey Junior High School in Mt. Vernon. Charles E. Simmons was elected president and Mrs. J. Lester Buford, vice-president. Miss Kell was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The annual meeting of the La Salle County Historical Society was held at the Ottawa Boat Club on October 13. L. S. Clemens, city

editor of the *Ottawa Republican-Times,* spoke on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and Keith Clark sang an original ballad about labor conflicts on the Canal. A plaque was presented to C. C. Tisler, former vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society and farm editor of the *Republican-Times,* for his contributions and assistance to the county Society.

New officers of the Society, elected at this meeting, are: John Graham, president; Mrs. Edgar Cook, vice-president; Jane Mills, recording secretary; Mrs. Lois Jance, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Hugh E. Black, treasurer; Sadie Murray, Ray Richardson, Ruth Karger, Keith Clark and Mrs. Harry V. Troup, directors.

The Libertyville-Mundelein Historical Society met on November 25. The program was a panel discussion of the history of the area when it was a part of New France.

State Historian Clyde C. Walton spoke on "Fakes and Forgeries" at the Morgan County Historical Society meeting on November 1.

D. A. Purdy, Roger Eaton and Everett McMurray spoke on "Fossils," using slides and specimens as illustrations at the Perry County Historical Society meeting at Pinckneyville on December 2. Raymond Lee, president; Charles Matthews, vice-president; and Mrs. Ethel Sanford, treasurer, were re-elected. Pona Eaton was elected secretary.

The Rockton Township (Winnebago County) Historical Society met on November 12 at the home of Mrs. Mary Graham.

Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant of the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, was the speaker at the Saline County Historical Society meeting on November 5. He described plans for restoring the old Bank of Illinois building at Shawneetown—a project jointly sponsored by the Society and the Shawnee Hills Recreation Association, for which the state has made an appropriation. Special music was furnished by Cora Hamilton, a student at Harrisburg Township High School.

At the Society's meeting on December 3 Mrs. Clyde Pittman described her recent trip to Europe. Special music was furnished by students Rita Towle, Vincent Kasiar and Barbara Johnson. T. Leo Dodd paid tribute to Mrs. Ida Choisser, who died November 10. She was the oldest living descendant of Judge Samuel Elder, founder of Eldorado, on the site of whose home the Illinois State Historical Society has recently erected a marker reading: "Here was located the home of Samuel Elder, cofounder of Elder-Redo now called Eldorado, Judge of the County Court 1849-1856, school commissioner, collector, Internal Revenue, justice of the peace, and farmer. He and his son, William, together with Joseph and William Reed laid out the village of Eldorado, August 22, 1857."

Dr. Edmund Staff of Ramsey, 88 years old and still engaged in general practice, spoke on the development of medical practice in his lifetime at the Vandalia Historical Society meeting on December 4. A memorial tribute was paid the late Mrs. Norman F. Jones.

Officers elected at this meeting are: Joseph C. Burtschi, president emeritus; Josephine Burtschi, president; Leonard Mack, vice-president; Mrs. Ben Perkins, secretary; Stanley Stewart, treasurer; Rev. Roscoe C. Coen, Ben Perkins, James Rexwinkle, Irene Schenker and Mrs. Charles R. Schulte, directors.

At the White County Historical Society meeting in Carmi on October 28, Randall and John Quindry of Fairfield told the story of William Newby, a White County Civil War soldier who was declared killed in action at Shiloh, but returned home years later. Despite acceptance by his family and friends, he was tried and convicted by the federal government as an impostor. President J. Robert Smith of the Society presided, and Vice-President Henry Walker introduced the speakers.

Dilliard Receives Civil Liberties Award

Irving Dilliard of Collinsville, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society (1947-1948), was the winner of the second Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award given by the New York Civil Liberties Union. Dilliard is an editorial write for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the award was in recognition of the "conspicuous courage and integrity" of his editorials in that newspaper in defense of civil liberties. Presentation of the $1,000 award was made at the annual luncheon of the New York Union on March 1 at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York.

The Picture on the Front Cover

President Abraham Lincoln is portrayed on the front cover of this *Journal* with his Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, left, Major General John E. Wool, right, and Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase behind them. They are on the beach at Fort Monroe, Virginia, the date is May 9, 1862 and troops are boarding transports for Ocean View in the background. This drawing by Jack Clifton is in the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Clyde C. Walton
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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Dues are $3 a year, or $50 for Life Membership. Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, disseminate the story of the state and its citizens, and encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library has large holdings of, and specializes in, Lincolniana and the Civil War period.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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HERBERT GEORG PHOTO

The Stephen A. Douglas Monument — by Leonard W. Volk.

JOSEPH L. EISENDRATH, JR.

Illinois' Oldest Memorial — The Stephen A. Douglas Monument

Joseph L. Eisendrath, Jr. is a Chicago manufacturer whose avocation is historical research – he calls himself "a sort of professional 'amateur' historian." His particular interests are Lincoln and the Civil War and he willingly shares his encyclopedic knowledge of the Official Records *with other writers. He is a past president of the Chicago Civil War Round Table.*

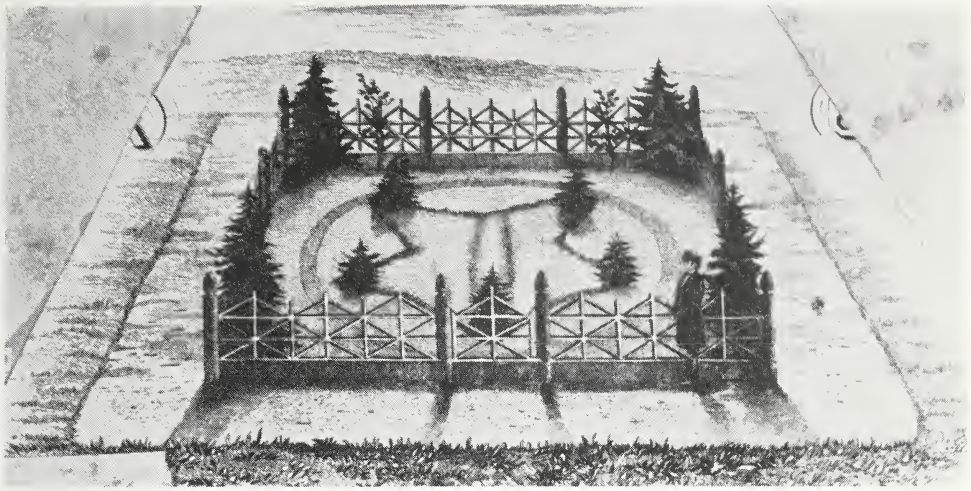
PERHAPS Leonard W. Volk never dreamed that his beloved monument to Stephen A. Douglas would some day be visible to Chicagoans hurrying through the dark hours of the night. When the final bronze bas-relief was set into place in 1881, the electric light was merely a curiosity – only a few years had passed since it had been revealed to the public at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Each night in this atomic era the monument is sharply outlined in the dark by a battery of spotlights.

Douglas' beloved "Oakenwald" of fifty-three acres has become a pleasant little park of two and one-fifth acres today. Douglas himself sleeps within the beautiful structure, and yet few of the people who pass by know what the monument is or how it came to be. Even the Illinois State Division of Parks and Memorials which is responsible for its upkeep and maintenance does not have available all of its past history, and the information presented here will be new to many public servants.

On the other hand, however, a visitor to the park can have a pleasant custodian answer most of the superficial questions concerning the monument. This man lives with his family in a small cottage within the park. A register is maintained for visitors, who may receive a little leaflet outlining the story of the tomb in four short pages.

The information contained in this article comes from three scrapbooks put together by Leonard Wells Volk, distinguished artist, sculptor and a relative by marriage to the Douglas family (his wife was a cousin to Douglas). In 1880, just before the project was finally completed, he published a 124-page, paper-bound history of the monument with a sketch of the life of Douglas. The writer owns these scrapbooks (which, incidentally, are jammed full of art news of Chicago, from 1859 to 1887 – and include much news of the Chicago Academy of Design, forerunner of today's Art Institute of Chicago; Volk was its first president). It appears that all the material used in Volk's book came from his clippings and letters in these scrapbooks. Much of his book is not of interest in this article, but quite a bit of the Douglas Monument material in the scrapbooks was not used by him, and will serve as the source of what follows here. This statement about sources is made to explain the lack of footnotes, for those who wish to pursue this study further.

Douglas, long a public servant, and at the time of his death Senator from Illinois, passed away at Chicago's Tremont House at 9:10 P.M. on Monday, June 3, 1861, after having been ill for about four weeks. The cause of death was indicated to be some form of typhoid fever. As was befitting a man of his renown, a huge public funeral followed. The body was embalmed so well that when it



A contemporary drawing of the original burial site of Stephen A. Douglas.

was removed to the present tomb several years later, it was found to be in a remarkable state of preservation. The funeral was conducted by the Roman Catholic bishop, and Masonic ceremonies were held at the grave. The funeral procession was about two miles long. The burial was at a spot known as Cottage Grove, owned by Douglas, just at the southern outskirts of Chicago at Lake Michigan, about four and one-half miles from the City Hall. The location today is west of the Illinois Central Railway right-of-way, just south of Thirty-Second Street. After burial, the grave site, a sandy area, was surrounded by a rude board fence which remained but a short time. Mrs. Adele Cutts Douglas, the widow, had wanted her husband buried in Washington, D.C., but Governor Richard Yates of Illinois prevailed on her to change her mind.

In 1849, Douglas had purchased a tract of fifty-three acres which he named Oakenwald. This area included wooded potential farmland facing the lake in what is today the

northern end of the Oakwood-Kenwood district of Chicago. When the old Chicago University was organized shortly thereafter, he became its first president. In 1856 he deeded ten of these acres as a site for its campus. The remaining part Douglas called "Cottage Grove." At a cost of about $1,200, he had built a one-story, light brown frame cottage, and had lived there several years with his first wife. The cottage was built in a grove of trees in the south half of the tract. Its style of architecture was mixed. A contemporary writer called it a "Swiss Country Cottage house." Some time around 1885, after the monument grounds were established, Volk moved the cottage to what is now known as Woodland Park, next to the present memorial site. The grove itself was a square of twenty-five acres, surrounded by board fences, with stiles in the north and southeast corners, and with a gateway in front of the cottage on the west. The entire grove was filled with black and white oaks, except for three barren acres at the southeast corner, and its surface showed swells and ridges, with small mudless valleys. A garden, about an acre in size, was near the cottage. Later, when Volk moved his family into the cottage, a small wooden studio was built adjacent to it on the south.

To move ahead of the story a bit, a mortgage of $50,000 was placed on part of the property in July, 1859. On April 12, 1860, the mortgage was renewed and increased by $10,000 with additional security given, and the whole property covered. The mortgage was foreclosed on November 21, 1863. At the time of the foreclosure $83,963.33 was owing. The property was sold in single lots for $83,160 with James R. Smith, the mortgage holder, being the main buyer. The sale was subject to redemption within fifteen

months, but I do not believe this property ever came back to the control of the Douglas family.

The prison camp named after Douglas was built during the war years. Part of the ground it occupied had been used as a fairgrounds before the Civil War. The Cottage Grove property as described above was adjacent to the prison grounds, but was not disturbed by the growing land needs of the camp.

The grave of Douglas was placed near the southeast corner of the grove, on a swell six to eight feet high, and one hundred twenty feet from the lake. It was surrounded by a maroon paling twenty-five feet long on each of four sides, light boards supported by four posts. Shortly after the burial, landscaping was added. A two-foot walk in a perfect circle enclosed a star, all in pebbles. The grave was in the center. A few small evergreen shrubs were planted along the paling. All work was done by the neighbors. The grave was in the track of a primitive highway, a stage road leading to the east along the lake shore.

In September, 1861, Volk was authorized by Mrs. Douglas to be custodian of the grave. Apparently some better form of memorial had been discussed -- she noted in a letter, dated July 25, that Volk apparently was quite active in organizing a committee to do this, for a public letter appeared in the papers on October 19, calling a "meeting of gentlemen interested in providing an efficient organization for the erection of a suitable monument." Besides Volk, J. W. Sheahan, S. W. Fuller, S. H. Kerfoot, W. C. Goudy, Thomas Drummond, David A. Gage and J. P. Clarkson signed the call.

The meeting, held at the Tremont House on October 22, favored popular participation with subscriptions limited

to one dollar a person. One hundred to one hundred fifty thousand dollars was to be the approximate cost. A committee was set up to carry on, and besides Volk, Goudy, Fuller and Sheahan it included John M. Wilson, H. G. Miller, and J. M. Rountree.

Organization progressed rapidly. On November 1, the committee favored incorporating "The Douglas Monument Association," under an act of the state legislature. Volk's plan for a board of eighteen trustees and dollar contributors was adopted. This was quickly effected (although the legislature delayed the incorporating until February 11, 1863) and on December 5, Walter B. Scates was named president, Thomas B. Bryan and Goudy vice-presidents, Gage the treasurer and Volk secretary. An executive committee and the eighteen trustees were also chosen.

The Association went right to work. An office was rented, furniture and stationery purchased. A special engraving for diplomas to dollar donors was ordered. Pamphlets and circulars were printed. A sales organization of agents and agencies was set up. But then the program ran into a snag. Too many people declined to contribute, claiming the money should go to relief for soldiers and not for monuments. Most agents gave up because they could not meet their expenses. To make matters worse a parallel campaign by the Chicago University for a "Douglas Monument" hampered fund raising. This latter project was a tower for the school, and the confusion of identity stopped many a contribution. In the meantime it became increasingly difficult to maintain the grave. Public appeals were made in the papers for trespassers not to desecrate the spot. People visiting the prison camp, veteran reserve soldiers, and people from all over the North came and

left their scratchings on the fence. Editorials on the subject appeared frequently. The Association therefore had its hands full and was just about able to maintain its *status quo*. Collection activity barely moved along.

Matters continued in this fashion until May 22, 1863, when it was decided to seek state assistance. A letter was addressed to members of the legislature asking them to appropriate $25,000 to buy the land, and $50,000 to build a monument. The officers were joined in this appeal by the bishop and the mayor of Chicago.

The trustees must have been confident the measure would pass, since they met on January 23, 1864 and authorized a competition for designs for a monument not to cost more than $50,000. A sum of $75 was to be awarded for the winning design which was to be chosen on March 25.

It seems that some activity of this sort was necessary because of public displeasure at no apparent action by the Association. A letter in the *Tribune* of July 17, 1863 indicates that "subscribers . . . who have long since paid their money to the officers of the association, would be glad to see a statement . . . showing the amount of receipts and expenditures." The writer could see no improvement at the grave and thought that idle money, if any, should be put to work. Volk, in his scrapbook, says the letter's author was T. J. S. Flint.

The Board of Trustees met next on April 23, 1864. Volk had submitted the only design, and it was not accepted. The next meeting in July found two designs at hand – a revamped model (which was later destroyed in the great Chicago Fire) being presented by Volk and a new design represented by a model from Schureman & Melick. Volk's was accepted by a seven-to-one vote. Mrs. Douglas had

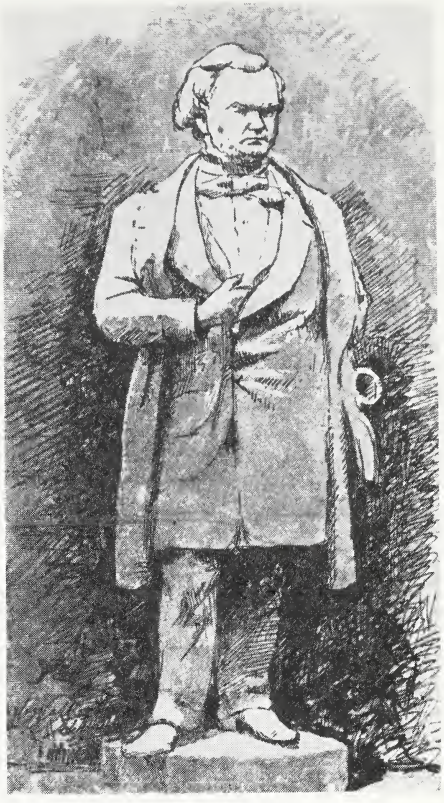
also written of her approval of the Volk design. The *Tribune* of the next morning describes it as follows:

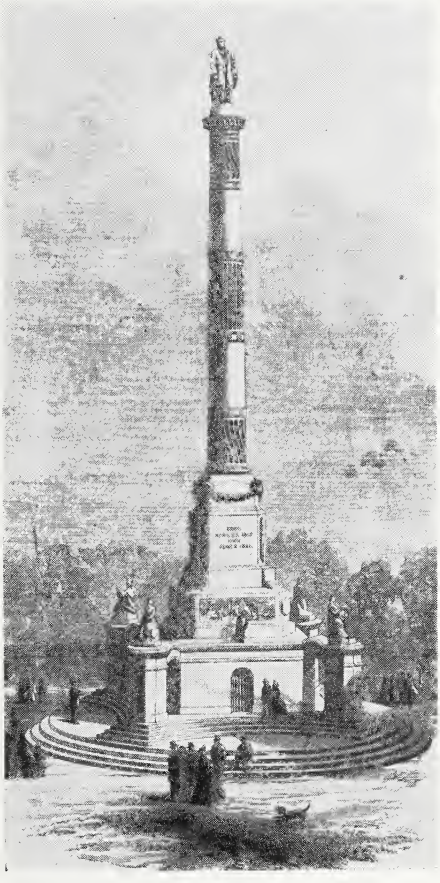
> [The Monument] is to be one hundred feet high, made of marble, limestone and bronze. The base is to be circular and 52 feet in diameter. The sepulchre, in which the remains of Douglas will be placed, and over which the monument is to be erected, will be 20 feet square; rising above the sepulchre will be a pedestal and composite column, the height of both of which will be 65 feet. Placed upon the top of the column, standing upon the globe, will be a bronze statue of Douglas 12 feet high. Surrounding the sepulchre will be four seated symbolical figures, representing Illinois holding a medallion of Douglas, America, History and Fame — the four figures being the size of life. Just above these figures there will be four bas reliefs on the base of the pedestal, one on each side, illustrating the progress of civilization in the West. The pedestal and the column will be appropriately ornamented with various devices.

Nationwide publicity followed this meeting. *Harper's Weekly* of October 1, 1864 ran an article about the monument and published a large engraving of Volk's design. This sort of public notice and some judicious prodding started the enabling bill through the legislature. By February 3, 1865, the finance committee of the House made two reports: The majority report suggested no action until after the Civil War had ended; the minority said that $25,000 should be appropriated to buy the ground from Mrs. Douglas. (Apparently this particular land was not covered by the mortgage mentioned above.)

However, the bill came up and, in spite of the adverse majority report, passed on February 13. The bill quickly became a law. On March 6, Mrs. Douglas transmitted a deed to Lot One to Richard J. Oglesby, Governor of Illinois, who sent her a draft on New York for $25,000 on

Douglas Volk's drawing of the statue his father made for the Douglas Monument.





Drawing of Volk's original model of the Douglas Monument, which was published in Harpers Weekly, *October 1, 1864.*

April 5. The two and one-fifth acre lot was never to be used for any purpose other than as a burial ground.

This action served as a prod to the public to resume its support. Newspapers reported additional contributions, such as $25 from Excelsior Lodge No. 97, A. F. & A. M., Freeport, Illinois. (*Tribune,* May 10.) The Association issued a public report of finances, indicating that up to February 13, 1865 it had received $7,510.94 (including $210 interest). It had spent $3,895.29, leaving a balance of cash of $3,615.65, a gain of fifty per cent since the previous report – all of the gain had come from the sale of pictures at the grave. The report showed that, besides cash, the Association had been deeded two lots near the grave worth about $3,000. These lots were donated by Douglas' mother and sister. The report indicated agents in different parts of the country probably also had funds yet to be accounted for. The 3,062 members of the Association were divided into 2,805 "dollar" members, seven honorary members of the executive board and 250 honorary members, 232 of the latter being editors who had been given memberships in exchange for publicity.

Pressure to start construction continued. It became necessary to explain, through the newspapers, that the committee did not have enough funds to proceed but that a foundation would be started with the funds on hand. The Association earlier in 1866 had authorized Volk to locate the monument site. In 1855 Douglas had pointed out to Volk the place where he had hoped to build a permanent residence and this was the spot Volk selected for the memorial. On May 31, 1866 the Association met at the Tremont House. Two members announced they had collected $600 and would make it $1,000. Isaac R. Diller pledged to raise $1,000.

The committee assessed itself $25 for each member. By July they were able to announce that $10,000 was on hand.

The building committee (Mayor F. C. Sherman, John B. Turner and D. A. Gage) then swung into action and invitations to submit bids were sent out. Six sealed bids were received. The lowest was for $10,700 for the construction of the foundations and a tomb of Indiana limestone, and work was to begin immediately.

A special committee for the cornerstone-laying ceremonies had met on May 9, 1866 at the Garrett Block, new home of the Association. Many ideas were proposed. The Masons were to be invited to provide refreshments. Medallions were to be created for the ceremony. An amateur musical concert at Crosby's Opera House would raise money. The date of dedication was to be set. A banquet committee for that evening was to be created. Railroads were to be asked to set up excursion round trips at one and one-fifth fares. Private carriages were to be loaned. Public offices would be closed for the day. It might be noted that on March 22, Secretary of State Seward had been invited to speak, but because of the attempt on his life the year before, his health would not permit a definite promise to appear as early as May or June. Then Governor Richard J. Oglesby was invited to deliver the oration, and the date was set for June 13. Caustic comments appeared in the *Chicago Times* on the impropriety of his accepting the invitation, Oglesby being a Republican and Douglas having been a Democrat. On May 28, in a letter to the committee, Oglesby discreetly declined the offer, pleading a previous engagement at Salem on the designated day. Then a committee of Thomas Hoyne and James H. Bowen was sent to Washington to invite President Andrew Johnson and his Cabinet to appear at

ceremonies on July 4, with General John A. Dix to be the orator. On June 3, a telegram announced that these people had accepted, but that they could not come on July 4. On August 9, it was announced that the date was definitely set for September 6.

Next, a special committee began to function. Reports were made. All but two railroads had been seen. The one and one-fifth fare for a round trip was satisfactory. White metal badges at ten to fifteen cents each could be bought. The banquet idea was abandoned, with a presidential reception at the Rink as a substitute. It was reported that more than 800 invitations had been sent out. Various other badges were to be sold at $1 and $2. A committee headed by Volk was appointed to gather articles for the cornerstone.

The invitation of Johnson evoked much comment and criticism. The political implications were cussed and discussed. In May, 1860 Johnson had tried in the Senate to rule Douglas out as a presidential candidate before the Charleston convention. How could he be expected now to eulogize him? On the other hand, political differences were to be buried while honoring a great patriot who had worked with political opponents after the outbreak of war. So the editorial comment went.

The *Chicago Post,* on August 18, indicated that the first section of the monument was practically completed. The structure was seventeen feet high. The base, with its steps and platform, was done, and the sepulchre was ready for the sarcophagus, or receptacle for the coffin. A speakers' stand was about to be erected with a press box for sixty reporters.

On August 20, the *Chicago Times* reported that Major

General Meade would be there, and that all the city's Masonic lodges would be represented. On the 28th several papers listed the proposed contents of the cornerstone: There would be copies of the Association charter and records, all sorts of information about Douglas, including his photograph, coins of the period and paper currency, newspapers and magazines, directories of Chicago, charter of the Chicago Historical Society and an autographed letter of Douglas'. The copper box to hold all this would be fourteen inches long by ten inches wide and eight inches high and would be publicly displayed in a store window.

One curious result of the preparations was the wide guesses as to the cost of holding the dedication. The arrangements committee heard estimates ranging from $3,000 to $50,000. Finally, David A. Gage, who was to be chief marshal at the event, assumed responsibility for payment of anything over $5,000. He never had to make good.

All this time the committee felt that the Association should capitalize financially on the occasion. Fifteen hundred seats were to be set up in front of the speakers' stand at $3.00 each. John C. Corbett and George W. Watson, local photographers, were licensed to take pictures and sell them, with a portion of their receipts to go to the monument fund. Tin boxes for contributions were to be placed in all the hotels and public places. Five thousand medals, discussed above, were to be sold. The same number of counterfeit medals, sent from New York, were to add to the confusion and were to fool many who thought the fund would benefit from their purchases.

President Johnson and his entourage, "swingin' 'round the circle," arrived as scheduled on the day before the event. Johnson responded briefly to a welcoming speech by Mayor

John B. Rice from a balcony of the Sherman House.

The great day arrived. Early in the morning, Chicago's streets were filled with thousands of people. The various societies with their marching bands fell into place for the long parade from the courthouse to the monument. It was estimated that almost 100,000 people came to Chicago that day. The weather was overcast and threatening, which kept down the procession. Shortly after 10 A.M. President Johnson got into his carriage and the parade began.

It seems that practically every organized group in Chicago marched in that parade. There were the police, the marshals, the distinguished guests (besides the mayor, Seward and Welles, were Generals Grant, Rawlins, Dix, Meade, Custer, Steelman and Rousseau, with Admiral Farragut, Admiral Radford and Lieutenant McKinley from the Navy), the workers of the Monument Association, all the Masonic organizations, aldermen and mayors from nearby cities, soldiers from various Illinois units, the Irish societies, the French society, temperance groups, trade unions, various religious groups, singing societies, butchers, Turnverein and just plain citizens.

By noon the end of the parade arrived at the monument. Flowers, urns, bunting and flags covered the grave and the monument. A new marble bust by Volk was exhibited in front of the grave. Mayor Rice opened the ceremonies, followed by the Masonic Grand Master, and the Masonic Grand Chaplain performed the cornerstone-laying ceremony. A revenue cutter offshore fired a minute gun, the bands played dirges, and it started to rain. As the cornerstone was lowered, the sun came out. Then a prayer was given by the Rev. William H. Milburn, and Dix began his oration, which was long, and which in the main was a

biography of Douglas. Next came the President, who gave a simple little speech of about 350 words, which received great applause. Secretary Seward followed and, too, was quite brief. Then all the other great men were introduced and applauded, and the affair broke up.

In the evening there followed the concert at the opera house, but people were disappointed at the nonappearance of Johnson.

Volk soon afterward reported gross receipts of $11,673.41 for the day, but this included the $6,500 raised previously by the finance committee. Seat sales had brought in $3,581, the concert about $1,000. Medal sales were brisk, realizing $454.20. The photographers, apparently, didn't do too well — they contributed only $20.35. Later, after final returns came in, it was found necessary to draw on the Association to make up a deficit of $1,304.69.

Again matters quieted down and eighteen months passed with the Association's showing little public activity. The monument foundation was completed as far as had been contracted for, and was now ready to receive the remains of Douglas. On May 14, 1868 the Association sent invitations to attend this ceremony scheduled for June 3, the anniversary of the death of Douglas. Tickets for the ceremony were sold at twenty-five cents each: Buyers of four tickets would receive a diploma of life membership in the Association. Purchasers of two tickets could buy the medal previously issued for the cornerstone ceremony. Apparently many had remained unsold.

The metallic casket was conveyed by the trustees to the tomb, as the Germania Maennerchor sang a hymn. A prayer by Dr. Joseph Haven followed. For the next two days the public was permitted to view the well-preserved features of

Douglas through the glass cover of the casket.

The sarcophagus in the monument is seven feet long, of white Vermont marble, set four feet high. Douglas' name and the dates of his birth and death are on the front in raised letters. On the base appear the Senator's last words, "Tell my children to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution."

That day, June 5, it was announced in the papers that the Association would seek a $50,000 appropriation from the state legislature to finish the work. The report said $14,000 had been spent thus far, and that $66,000 more would be needed. That left $16,000 to be raised publicly, if the legislature approved the $50,000.

In January, 1869 a memorial was forwarded to the legislature asking for the $50,000. This amount was reduced to $25,000. The bill passed the House of Representatives but was defaulted since the Senate adjourned before action was taken.

More time passed. The newspapers waxed sarcastic that nothing more had been done. An article in the *Post* on May 9, 1870 indicated that the masonry on the unfinished monument had cracked because of freezing water: "The fence is not fit for a cowyard; the grounds are shabby and uncared-for; and generally the aspect of the enterprise is altogether unlovely – a visible and instructive lesson to all politicians, which they would do well to heed." The *Times* the next day commented in a similar vein, and the *Republican* also said something should be done. Probably the officers of the Association were responsible for this "spontaneous needling."

When the Association met on December 7, it was suggested that the monument be removed to the grounds of

Chicago University. The trustees decided to try the legislature once again before doing that. A letter from Mrs. Douglas was read. It urged them to do something or remove the monument.

But matters again dragged. On April 11, 1873 another attempt was made to get the legislature to pass the bill. It passed the House again, but was defeated by the Senate in the winter of 1874. At the time the bill was submitted a financial statement accompanied it, and said that up to January, 1871, a total of $21,580.80 had been raised — $2,856.40 by subscription, $8,137.32 by sales of photos and diplomas, $3,581 from seat sales, $1,006.08 from the concert and $6,000 from the sale of two lots, each 120 by 50 feet. All had been spent but $29.10, most of it having gone to the building contractors.

A sidelight at this time is an advertisement appearing in the *Tribune* (December 27, 1874) offering the Douglas cottage for rent, with possession May 1, 1875 — for a long term. Volk, apparently, was no longer to be the custodian. On May 20, 1877 it was still for rent!

On December 31, 1874, Judge Scates drafted a new bill for the House of Representatives to remove and complete the monument. About the same time, a bill for $50,000 to complete the monument was introduced in the Senate. This latter bill failed quickly, lacking five votes of a majority. The removal bill failed as well.

Since the Illinois legislature meets biennially the sponsors had to wait two years to reintroduce the bill, which again asked for $50,000. This was done in February, 1877. This time the same bill was introduced simultaneously in both houses. On March 23, it passed the House 81 to 40, which was four votes over the required number, and on May 16

passed the Senate. The *Times,* in a headline of May 9, indicated, "Members of the House discover that passing a bill is the only way to get rid of it." Governor Cullom signed it into law on May 22 to become effective July 1. Robert T. Lincoln, Potter Palmer and Melville W. Fuller were appointed as a commission to complete the monument and in July, 1877 advertised for bids on the additional work.

The commissioners met at the Palmer House on July 2. Volk had been requested to submit his designs for the monument. The original model having been lost in the 1871 fire, he resubmitted his ideas with some modifications. On July 7 they met again, and after considerable discussion Volk was asked to submit a proposal on the statuary needed. Shortly thereafter a contract was made with Volk to superintend the work on the monument. Although this contract allowed him $500, he subsequently rebated $200.

Separate bids were asked for work on the walls, sidewalks, and limestone or sandstone coping. The limestone work, consisting of the copings, sidewalk and terrace wall (along the Illinois Central Railroad right-of-way) was let shortly afterward to Crilly & Robinson whose price was $4,984. This work was minor and was finished in sixty days. On July 28, 1877 bids from nine firms and individuals were opened at a meeting of the commission in the United States Courthouse. Curiously enough, Leonard Volk was a bidder for the coping work. The wall granite work contract was awarded to the Hindsdale-Doyle Granite Company for $15,800. The other awards were not made at the meeting, which, incidentally, marked the withdrawal of Robert T. Lincoln, who was succeeded by Senator Lyman Trumbull. This change was satisfactory to the *Tribune* as evidenced in a "letter" on August 4.

In October, Volk was awarded $8,000 for a nine-foot, nine-inch bronze statue of Douglas to be set on top of the shaft. The commission found it necessary to remove the limestone tomb built twelve years before, and to make minor changes. This meant another bidding. Six contractors sought the work and, on the last day of 1877, J. H. Anderson of the American Granite Works won the award for $7,893. May 1, 1878 was the target date for completion. A news item of the *Times* on April 15, 1878 reviewed the history of the project, and indicated that $3,000 to $5,000 was to be expended in improving the grounds. All these contracts, therefore, would total about $43,000, leaving $7,000 as a reserve.

On July 14, the capstone of the column was complete and Volk's newly finished statue was hoisted into position. At an informal ceremony on July 17 about one thousand people (700 to 800 according to one paper) braved a scorching July morning to hear Judge John D. Caton talk about Douglas and his place in American history. Among the dignitaries at the ceremony was Mrs. Julius N. Granger of Clifton Springs, New York, Douglas' eldest sister.

On August 7, Volk was given a contract to execute the four heroic bronze statues at each corner of the tomb. These were to represent "Justice," "History," "Illinois," and "Eloquence" and were to be at least seven feet high. May 1, 1879 was set for delivery and Volk was to be paid $6,500.

The commissioners, in their annual report to the governor, telling of the progress of the work, indicated that the cost of the Volk contract and extra expense for rebuilding the tomb (substituting granite for limestone) would result in deficit financing, that they would therefore need $9,000

beyond the $50,000 appropriated. Early in the winter of 1879, after the Governor had agreed to recommend it, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives by Moses Wentworth. After a short time it was passed. A similar bill in the Senate was defeated on April 8, 1879 by 22 to 21, after several desperate attempts by Senator Daniel N. Bash of Chicago to push it through. However, the House bill that had passed still had to be voted on by the Senate. It was brought up on May 27 and passed.

Therefore, on July 24, the Commission advertised for bids to finish the granite work, listing minor changes in the steps. A bid of $3,925 won the award. This particular work was completed by March, 1880.

Three of Volk's four statues were completed and put in place as fast as he finished them. "Illinois" was there on July 22, 1879, and "History" followed on September 28. "Justice" was set up on December 30. However, Volk still had a bit of work to do. Earlier in the year, on March 1, he had contracted to supply four bas-reliefs for panels on the main base of the monument for $1,200 each, or $4,800. By April 25, 1880 he had finished the last of the clay models for these. Within a week the first, an Indian scene, was cast into bronze and installed. Two of the other three (Pioneer Settlers, Commerce and Enterprise, and Education) followed within a few days. On May 13, the last of the statues, "Eloquence," was set into place. Only one bas-relief was left to place. Volk and the last contractor apparently had difficulty in receiving final payment. The two years allowed for the spending of the $9,000 appropriation had run out, and it became necessary to introduce a new bill to reappropriate the balance of $4,798 needed to pay them off. It passed the Senate April 8, 1881, after it

had been approved by the House, and was signed into law by the Governor on April 12.

Agitation to move the monument to a south side park was mentioned in an article in the *Inter-Ocean* on August 9, 1881. Volk was interviewed and suggested it be left where it was. He announced that the last bas-relief, "Education," was about ready to be installed, which prompted all the newspapers to feature stories about the history of the monument.

Finally, on August 18, 1881, "Education" took her place and the project was finished – just exactly twenty years after it had been conceived. No public ceremony took place – no more money remained to be spent. The commissioners made their final accounting, were discharged from their trust, and the state took over maintenance of the tomb. A total of $96,350 had been spent for the memorial itself, besides the costs of the Association. The state had paid $84,000 by appropriations, $6,000 came from proceeds of the donation of two lots, and the rest was paid for by the public.

In the years since 1881, several major repair jobs have been made when needed. As an example, in 1901, $3,500 was appropriated. Major repairs occurred in the period between July 1, 1953 and June 30, 1957 when the state spent $34,621. In comparison, the previous two years, July 1, 1953 to June 30, 1955, showed only $6,828 spent.

Major repairs were made in 1954. Vandals had broken the head off the Douglas bust within the tomb. The grounds received a major going-over, with much refuse such as liquor bottles being cleaned out. New steel gates were placed at the entrance to the tomb, and the monument received a thorough cleaning and tuck pointing.

The present caretaker receives $242 per month (less $20 for utilities). The Division of Parks and Memorials, which cares for the monument, says ten to fifteen years often go by without any major maintenance. The Division also claims that the Douglas Monument is Illinois' oldest state memorial. This is probably right — the Illinois State Historical Library can't find an older one.

Shortly, gigantic apartment buildings and recreational facilities will be erected in the general neighborhood of the monument, where a large area of old dwellings and commercial buildings has been razed. As they go up, someone may again suggest that the monument be moved. But, in the meantime, the Little Giant sleeps peacefully.

EGBERT S. OLIVER

New Homes in the West— 1833-1834

Egbert S. Oliver is professor of English at Portland State College, Portland, Oregon. He has written for such journals as the New England Quarterly *and* College English *and edited a recent (1948) edition of Herman Melville's* Piazza Tales. *In 1956-1957 he was a Fulbright lecturer on American literature at Osmania University, Hyderabad, India.*

IN THE winter of 1833-1834 an educated and observing young New Yorker who had some literary experience and considerable literary ambition, Charles Fenno Hoffman, made a solitary journey through the western states and wrote regular letters descriptive of his experiences and observations. *The New-York American* published twenty-nine of these letters, and the complete series of fifty was published by Harper & Brothers as *A Winter in the West, by a New Yorker,* in two volumes. The book had two American editions and one English edition, all in 1835. It has not been republished.[1] Its observations, however, are intrinsically too interesting and too valuable as Americana to permit continued neglect.

Hoffman contrasts the settled areas of Pennsylvania, established by William Penn and farmed for more than a century, dotted with huge stone barns resembling cathedrals, with the new clearings around the unweathered log cabins of

1. However, the "Letters Descriptive of Chicago and Vicinity in 1833-4" were reprinted in 1882 as *Fergus' Historical Series No. 20.*

Michigan and Illinois. He gives a first-hand and quite detailed account of the life he observed in passing over this new frontier. His observations, fitted roughly to Frederick Jackson Turner's famous thesis,[2] cover mainly the frontier farmer. He was viewing the land as it was being offered for sale by the government and purchased by immigrants who expected to build and plow.

Hoffman's own point of view is that of a firmly established easterner. He does not glamorize, glorify, idealize or sentimentalize over heroic settlers. Rather he observes the inevitable development of a rich continent as the movements of peoples surge over forest and prairie, down rivers and across lakes. He sees a civilization in the making. That he was competent to observe is at least partly attested by his background.

Charles Fenno Hoffman was born in New York in 1806, the son of a prominent New York jurist, Josiah Ogden Hoffman (under whom Washington Irving studied law), and Maria Fenno, a woman of good family. He was a younger half-brother of Matilda Hoffman, who at her death was the betrothed of Irving. Hoffman was for two years an undistinguished student at Columbia College before he studied law, was admitted to the bar, set up an office — and mainly devoted his time to literature. He was twenty-six when he started on his solitary western journey.

The published record of his travels begins at Easton, Pennsylvania, on October 17, 1833. He went by horseback to Harrisburg, to Wheeling, to Pittsburgh. He took a stagecoach from Pittsburgh to Cleveland, a lake steamer to Detroit; and, sometimes by stagecoach, sometimes on horse-

2. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History (Proceedings of the Forty-first Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* Madison, 1894).

back, sometimes by sleigh, he went across Michigan Territory to the Grand River, through Indiana to Chicago, to Galena, to Prairie du Chien in Wisconsin Territory, back to Galena, to St. Louis, down the Mississippi to the Ohio, to Louisville and Cincinnati, then by horseback again through Kentucky, Tennessee and western Virginia, ending at Charlottesville, Virginia, June 2, 1834.

He stayed overnight, a couple of days or a couple of weeks, according to his interest in the environment or the friendliness of accommodations. He stopped at hotel, inn, farmhouse, log cabin, or mountain shanty (he spelled it *shantee*) as necessity demanded and opportunity afforded.

Unfortunately he permitted the delicacy of his feelings as a guest to prevent his describing in detail some of the situations which most interested him as an observer. But he does give glimpses of life in some of the rough new cabins where he sought wayside shelter. In most instances he tells of a single room serving as cooking, eating, sitting, sleeping and smoking chamber. When night overtook him, he entered one particular log cabin in Michigan Territory:

> The family were at supper when I entered; and sitting down with the rest, I helped myself with an iron spoon from a dish of suppawn, and fishing up a cup from the bottom of a huge pan of milk, I poured the snowy liquid over the boiled meal that rivaled it in whiteness. . . . The cockloft . . . was my place of rest. I stumbled over a pile of corn, and struck my head aganst the roof . . . I found a clean bed [of straw], however, and it was a very sociable place after all; for there were four persons besides myself stowed away in the different corners. . . .
>
> At breakfast the fare consisted of hot rolls and tea, with large pieces of pork swimming in its gravy, with a plate of noble potatoes, that pulverized when you touched them.[3]

3. [Charles Fenno Hoffman], *A Winter in the West, by a New Yorker* (New York, 2 vols., 1835), I: 144-45. Page references are to the first New York edition.

At an isolated cabin near the present Buda, Illinois, with two Potawatomi as fellow-guests, he also fared well:

> The good woman placed her child in a rude cradle, and bestirred herself with activity and good-humor in getting supper; while the frontiers-man, knocking the ashes from his tomahawk-pipe, passed me a flask of Ohio whiskey, which after my cold ride, had all the virtue of Monongahela. Some coarse fried pork, with a bowl of stewed hominy, hot rolls, and wild honey, did not then come amiss, especially when backed by a cup of capital coffee from the lower country.[4]

He found in Illinois a former New York tradesman living in a log cabin with his large family. The nearest neighbor was ten miles away in one direction, twenty in the other. The man, "as fine a specimen of the western borderer as one could meet," employed a schoolmaster for his many children. The farm was productive and the farmer realized the full independence of his situation, living a robust, active, sunburnt, out-of-door life having little resemblance to his former life on Broadway as a pale mechanic.[5]

From Calhoun County, Michigan Territory, Hoffman wrote

> from a little cottage . . . where two young gentlemen, recently from the east, have made their home in this land of enterprise. . . . My entertainers are both young lawyers, liberally educated, and unused to privation; and yet the house . . . with every article of furniture it contains, is of their own manufacture; a saw, an axe, a wood-knife, and a jack-plane being their only tools. . . . Their house, which has been thus occupied for three months, is a perfect pattern of neatness; though, as it consists of but a single room, no little ingenuity is required to arrange their books, housekeeping apparatus, and sporting equipments, so as to preserve even an appearance of order in such a bandbox.

They were practicing law from their log cabin. One of

4. *Ibid.*, I: 294.

5. *Ibid.*, I: 286-87.

them was, while Hoffman wrote, "professionally engaged in drawing a declaration" at the same table.[6]

Near Ottawa, Illinois, he entered a usual-appearing log cabin and found a choice collection of books, including a fine old edition of Algernon Sidney's works. In language such as the founders of Brook Farm were to use he wrote:

> I known no reason why the fullest expanding of the intellect is incompatible with the handling of an axe, or the most luxuriant development of the imagination with following the plough. The farmer, of all operatives, has, perhaps, the most time for improvement.[7]

Certainly not all of the western settlers whom Hoffman saw, however, were of the solid-citizen variety. He did not show signs of undue fastidiousness, sleeping more than two in a bed or rolling up in a blanket on the floor as necessary, eating in the main what was put before him, keeping a tolerant and watchful eye open for manners and lack of manners; but he saw some of his fellow-citizens in circumstances of which he strongly disapproved. Especially was he out of sympathy with the brutality and bestiality of the woodcutters along the Mississippi near Grand Tower: He had "seldom seen such wild and grotesque-looking creatures." They lived in the rudest huts along the fever-infested swamps and lived miserably by supplying wood to passing steamers.[8] These were the squalid and reckless debris of the frontier, of whom Mrs. Trollope had written, "I never witnessed human nature reduced so low, as it appeared in the wood-cutters' huts on the unwholesome banks of the Mississippi."[9]

Traveling horseback in Clay County, Kentucky, in the

6. *Ibid.*, I: 196-97.
7. *Ibid.*, I: 265-66.
8. *Ibid.*, II: 118-19.
9. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (Donald Smalley, ed., New York, 1949), 21.

company of a professor at Transylvania College, Hoffman found poverty and slovenliness enough to offend his taste. In a miserable shanty, one of the proprietors of the coal mines supplying Frankfort provided them

> with a breakfast of coarse pork and bread made of Indian corn, pounded between two stones by the fireside – a meal-making operation that consumed some time. I confess that in all the various tables I have sat down to, none required more of the Spartan's seasoning than this. I was really glad to wash down the coarse and greasy mixture with a bowl of sour milk, and betake myself once more to the saddle.[10]

In Cleveland, taking the steamer *New York* for Detroit, he found the wharf and boat "crowded with boxes, bales, and the effects of emigrants, who were screaming to each other in half as many languages as were spoken at Babel." On board he was taken on a personal tour by the captain.

> [Among] a group of emigrants collected around a stove, midships, . . . an English mother nursing her infant, a child lying asleep upon a mastiff, and a long-bearded German smoking his meerchaum [*sic*] on the top of a pile of candle-boxes, were the only complete figures I could make out from an indefinite number of heads, arms, and legs lying about in the most whimsical confusion. . . .
>
> The furniture of the emigrants differed according to the origin of the owner. The effects of the Yankee were generally limited to a Dearborn wagon, a feather-bed, a saddle and bridle, and . . . a machine for shelling corn, . . . or, for aught I know, manufacturing wooden nutmegs for family use. John Bull . . . [would take all England with him if he could; he takes] an antique-fashioned looking-glass, a decrepit bureau, and some tenderly-preserved old china. . . . Still further do the Swiss and Germans carry their love of family relics. . . . You may see . . . a vellum-bound edition of Virgil's Bucolics . . . taken from an Helvetian ancestor that transported Caesar's baggage into winter quarters. . . . That short man . . . with square

10. [Hoffman], *Winter in the West,* II: 184-85.

> shoulders . . . is the owner. . . . That man had probably not the slightest idea of the kind of country he was coming to. . . . That man has not yet a thought in common with the people of his new abode around him. . . . [But] visit him on his thriving farm ten years hence, and . . . you will find him . . . at home among his neighbours, and happily conforming to their usages; while that clean-looking Englishman next to him will still be a stranger in the land.[11]

Western emigrants were establishing hamlets so fast that log cabins built two years before looked old and primitive beside the new buildings, which in some places included brick churches and hotels. Hoffman could, however, he said, discover no perceptible growth between the time he sat down to dinner and the impatient horn of the stage driver calling him from table.

Monroe, Michigan, on the Raisin River, an ancient French hamlet recently bursting with Yankee energy and the movement of population westward, may serve as an example of village growth. A sprinkling of fine old pear and apple orchards testified that a few French settlers had lived on the River Raisin for over a hundred years. But the new Monroe was typified by the people's drive toward progress and development. The town had doubled in population in 1833. It boasted a bank with a capital of $100,000. The government land office had taken in $22,000 in nine months at the rate of $100 for 80 acres. The city had a population of 1,600, about 150 houses, of which twenty or thirty were stone. Some of these were "wholesale establishments, and make a very handsome display of fancy goods." The town had "two grist-mills . . . , a woollen factory, an iron foundry, several saw-mills, a chair factory, a tannery, &c." Five religious denominations were represented by

11. *Ibid.*, I: 103-4, 106-8.

clergymen, and three – Roman Catholics, Episcopalians and Presbyterians – had their own neat churches. The inhabitants were building a $45,000 steamboat to ply directly to Buffalo, and had received appropriations to build a canal, a road and a pier. "When all these improvements are completed, Monroe must come in for a large share of the immense trade and commerce which must flow through the three outlets of eastern Michigan." Monroe even expected to rival Detroit in commerce.[12]

At Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan Territory, Hoffman "was not at all surprised to find . . . a call for 'a railroad meeting' in the evening, especially as nearly eighteen months had elapsed since the first white man erected his cabin in this section of the country."[13]

Galena, Illinois, with a thousand population, was

> one of the busiest places in the Union. The value of goods imported into this place last season amounted to $150,000; the exports of lead amounted to seven millions of pounds at $4 50 per hundredweight. There were ninety-six departures and ninety-seven arrivals of steamboats during the last season. . . . This, for a frontier-town, built indifferently of frame and log-houses, thrown confusedly together on the side of a hill, is certainly doing very well.[14]

Hoffman was an enthusiast for river and canal commerce. He had little to say of railroad possibilities, but his imagination was unbounded as he envisioned inland water transportation from New Orleans (or the headwaters of the Yellowstone!) to Buffalo. All that was needed was a canal a hundred miles long from the Chicago River to the Illinois:

> This canal is the only remaining link wanting to complete the most stupendous chain of inland communication in the world. . . . Ten years and $40,000 have now been spent upon this work,

12. *Ibid.*, I: 127-31.
13. *Ibid.*, I: 187.
14. *Ibid.*, II: 40-41.

> and not a shovelful of earth, so far as I can learn, is yet removed from the soil. Let the New-York merchants step in and make it, and the warehouses of Buffalo will be to St. Louis what those of New-Orleans are at present. . . . The State of Illinois . . . will not complete the canal for half a century to come.[15]

In St. Louis, a city of seven or eight thousand, the center of a widespread trading area, the large river boats from New Orleans could dock even at the lowest stage of the river, and "river-craft of every shape and form, from the thousand boatable tributaries of the Mississippi" clustered around the wharves.[16] Louisville he saw as an attractively laid out, cultured city of 15,000 population, with paved streets and hotels superior to those of New York. It seemed to be "the greatest place of business upon the Western waters," with a number of steamboats arriving and departing during each hour.[17]

Cincinnati brought forth allusions to Mrs. Trollope as "an exceedingly clever English caricaturist [whose work] has about as much vrai-semblance (*sic*) as if the beaux and belles of Kamschatka had sat for the portraits." The city was beautifully located for natural scenery and for transportation. Among its 30,000 people one saw beauty of person and grace and charm of manner. Though the people came from all parts of the Union — a common saying in the twenty-five-year-old city was, "We all come from some place or another" — there was "a total want of *caste*." Cincinnati business enterprise showed itself especially in the organization of the systematic pork-packing business:

> The number of hogs annually slaughtered is said to exceed one hundred and twenty thousands; and the capital employed in the business is estimated at two millions of dollars. . . . The minute

15. *Ibid.*, I: 244-46, II: 60-61. The Illinois and Michigan Canal was actually opened in 1848 — fourteen years after Hoffman's trip.
16. *Ibid.*, II: 76.
17. *Ibid.*, II: 123-24.

> division of labour and the fearful celerity of execution in these swinish workships would equally delight a pasha and a political ecnomist; for it is the mode in which the business is conducted, rather than its extent, which gives dignity to hog-killing in Cincinnati. . . . Imagine a long narrow edifice, divided into various compartments, each communicating with the other, and each furnished with some peculiar and appropriate engine of destruction. In one you see a gory block and gleaming axe; a seething caldron nearly fills another. The walls of a third bristle with hooks newly sharpened for impalement; while a fourth is shrouded in darkness, that leaves you to conjure up images still more dire. There are forty ministers of fate distributed throughout these gloomy abodes, each with his particular office assigned him. . . . The mallet, – the knife, – the axe, – the boiling caldron, – the remorseless scraping-iron, – have each done their work; and the fated porker, that was but one minute before grunting in the full enjoyment of bristling hoghood, now . . . hangs a stark and naked effigy among his immolated brethren.[18]

Hoffman is never cynical or satirical. He observed and accepted life more than he evaluated it. He showed his own personal hardihood on many occasions, particularly once when his horse unseated him and kept tantalizingly just out of reach. He was several miles from his lodging at Dexter, Michigan Territory, with the sun sinking toward the horizon. (I may add that he had had one leg amputated above the knee, though he never mentioned that fact in the entire book.) He trudged on, keeping a sense of humor and not even losing faith in his horse.[19]

That same kind of zest and vitality enter into his bucolic pastoral descriptions. There is no jaundice or ennui in his picture of a country scene in a happy, prosperous valley. He had just finished recalling the bloody Indian fights of seventy-five years before, which had given the name of "Bloody Run" to creek and hamlet. Now, in contrast,

18. *Ibid.*, II: 130-33, 136-38. 19. *Ibid.*, I: 169-74.

he was looking on a scene of peace and security. A train of huge Pennsylvania wagons spoke of peaceful commerce, the smoking teams of horses lazily drinking from the stream, with their harness bells jingling and their traces clanking on the stones. "A buxom country-girl or two could be seen moving through the enclosures, bearing the milk-pail to meet the cows which were coming in lowing along the highway, while the shouts and laughter of a troop of boys just let loose from school came merrily on the ear as they frolicked on a little green hard by."[20]

Hoffman admired the natural beauty of the surging rivers in the hills and mountains of the Cumberland Gap area. At a time when they could have been built, he made a plea for public parks at such places as the present Golden Triangle in Pittsburgh and the banks overlooking the Mississippi in St. Louis. He wanted to see natural beauty and grandeur preserved, and also he was interested in preserving such historically valuable places as the site of Fort Pitt. When he described such scenes he was strongly influenced by the increasing popularity of landscape painters like Joshua Shaw, John Hill and William Guy Wall. In none of his many vignettes of persons and places does he more neatly combine the romantic elements of the frontier than in this little paragraph:

> Beneath the boughs of a mossy oak, that stood in a verdant swale by the road-side, reclined an Indian female with an infant at her bosom; while a long-haired Tennessean in a hunting-shirt, who proved to be her husband, was engaged in broiling some fish over a fire a few yards off. A half-blooded wolf-dog lay at the feet of the woman, with a young boy curled up asleep between the outstretched legs of the savage-looking animal; his chubby cheek reposing upon its grizzly crest. Near them grazed a couple of shaggy Indian ponies, whose wooden saddles and tattered

20. *Ibid.*, I: 33-36.

> blankets of blue and scarlet were thrown carelessly on the green turf around the gnarled roots of the tree which formed the foreground of the picture.[21]

This pastoral tableau is one of the final pictures he gives his readers before taking his farewell in a boldly drawn summary. He was at the summit of the Blue Ridge in Virginia; spring was ending; he had had six months of wandering:

> I turned in the saddle to bid a last adieu to the romantic west. . . . A thousand scenes as lovely as that now veiled from my view thronged upon memory, as I bade a lingering farewell to the glorious region where I had enjoyed them. . . . "Why should Nature thus lavish her beauties, thus waste herself on silence?" . . . Alas! the majority of mankind have no innate sense of beauty and majesty. They admire only because others have admired before them. . . . So marked, indeed, is this disposition to approve *gregariously* . . . that even genius is not free from its influence; and if a poet immortalizes one place, the rhyming brotherhood of a hundred generations will devote the power of their art to the same identical spot.[22]

But Hoffman also had other and dissimilar musings. He found a singular joyousness in the primal freshness and solitude of the wilderness. "And in realizing this emotion," he said, "I have felt amid some scenes a kind of selfish pleasure, a wild delight, that the spot so lovely and so lonely was, as it were, all my own."[23]

Hoffman's *A Winter in the West* has not been "approved *gregariously*." He has been left in a kind of solitude for these past hundred years. I came upon him by accident, as it were – through my interest in Melville – and I have found him in this book, though decidedly a lesser writer, so filled with the vitality of the expanding America of the 1830's that I believe he and this *Winter in the West* deserve exhuming.

21. *Ibid.*, II: 310-11.
22. *Ibid.*, II: 314-16.
23. *Ibid.*, II: 317.

CARY CLIVE BURFORD

The Twilight of the Local Passenger Train in Illinois

Cary Clive Burford of Urbana is the author of four books, three of them dealing with the history of railroads — his favorite subject along with the study of Lincoln and Illinois history in general. His fourth volume is a history of the University of Illinois, with emphasis on its bands and pageantry. He is a regular attendant at meetings of the Illinois State Historical Society.

JUST AS it formerly clattered down the track to become a speck on the horizon, so has the local passenger train faded from the Illinois scene. And with it has passed a way of life. For most of our small towns and many larger ones it was as much a community institution as the public square, or Main Street, or the old bank corner.

The day's events were tuned to "train time." Those were glamorous moments for the community. Most of the citizens made a habit of going down to the depot to see the train come in — it was pronounced "dee-po," and was seldom referred to as the station. On these occasions the more sedate residents used the thin excuse of having letters to mail "on the train." In my own home town of Farmer City, Illinois, I remember the arrival of the 4:38 on Sunday afternoons as a particularly gala event — the area in front of the depot was filled with buggies, surreys and carriages, and there would be well over a hundred greeters in attendance.

It would be difficult to set definite years for the "Golden Age" of the local passenger train in Illinois, but I would estimate that it extended from about 1880 to the end of World War I — or, approximately, 1920. Beginning at that time, there was a gradual "annulment" of local trains until the few that are now left are mostly in the Chicago area where they still make their daily commuter runs.

For instance, the *Official Guide of the Railways* shows that in 1918 the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy operated a vast network of branch lines in northern Illinois and Iowa. It ran local passenger trains between Quincy and Keokuk; Buda and Rushville; Concord, Jacksonville and Herrin; Davenport, Rock Island and Sterling; Streator and Walnut; Galesburg and West Havana; Galesburg, Galva, Keithsburg and Burlington; Quincy and Burlington; Shabbona and Sterling; Aurora and Streator; Oregon and Forreston; and Rochelle and Rockford. Business was so brisk on the Aurora-Streator branch that two depots were maintained at Ottawa — one in the city proper and one across the Illinois River in South Ottawa. These were only a few of the Burlington's branches. Passenger service has now been discontinued on all of them.

Similarly, the Illinois Central operated its network of branches connecting with "main lines" at such towns as Clinton, Champaign, Mattoon, Decatur, Freeport, Bloomington, Kankakee, Carbondale and DuQuoin. There were lines between Effingham and Indianapolis; Havana and West Lebanon, Indiana; Bloomington, Pontiac and Kankakee; and Freeport and Madison, Wisconsin. The Peoria-Decatur branch was the former Peoria, Decatur & Evansville road (the P. D. & E.) and served Peoria, Decatur, Mattoon and Evansville.

Passenger service has been discontinued on all of these branches as well as on what was the I.C.'s original main line – one of its "Charter Lines." This runs through Vandalia, Decatur, Bloomington, LaSalle, Mendota and Dixon to Freeport, and in 1958 carries freight only. At Dixon there were two depots, one north and one south of the Rock River.

Another road with an extensive local passenger service was the Chicago & Alton – now a part of the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio. Two of its important branches entered the Peoria Union Station. One was the Springfield-Peoria line and the other extended northeast to meet the main line at Dwight. From Bloomington another branch ran southwest to serve Delavan, Mason City, Petersburg, Jacksonville, Roodhouse, Alton and St. Louis. Roodhouse was a terminal where still another branch operated west through Missouri to Kansas City.

In Alton the downtown depot overlooked the Mississippi River and the old city hall where the seventh Lincoln-Douglas debate took place. Trains operating north from this old station had to climb one of the steepest grades in Illinois. This station has long since been abandoned for a newer one in Upper Alton and the older tracks are now used only for freight.

Other roads with their fleets of local passenger trains in Illinois were the Wabash; Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific; Chicago & North Western; Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul; and the former Big Four, now operated as a part of the New York Central.

That old-time Alton station was only one of a large number that either have been abandoned or converted to other uses. Perhaps the most notable of these is the old Peoria Union Station. In 1912 this two-block-long structure ac-

The Peoria Union Station — now used as a warehouse but in 1912 it was one of the busiest railroad centers in the Midwest.

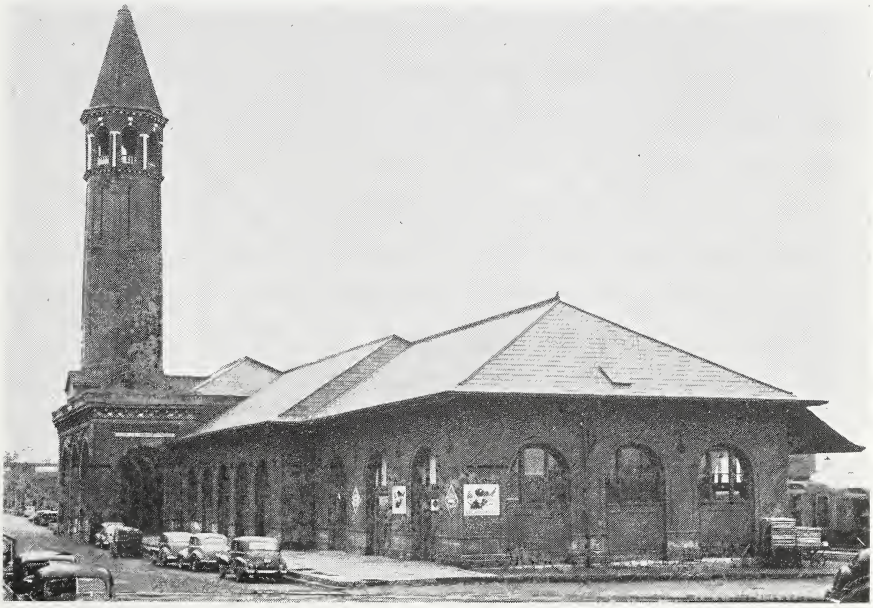
commodated the passengers of some two hundred trains daily on twelve railroads.[1] Half a dozen windows were needed to sell tickets. There was a dining room complete with white tablecloths. The trains entered and left a shed and passengers were checked out through gates. But this is all changed now. The roads withdrew their passenger runs one by one, the dining room was closed, the train shed blew down and was never rebuilt. Finally, only one road was left, the Peoria & Eastern, or the old-time Big Four, which kept one ticket window open one hour a day to service its one arriving and departing train. Finally, this train operated only as far as Pekin, ten miles to the south, elimi-

1. Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; Illinois Central; Illinois Midland (later Chicago, Peoria & St. Louis); Terre Haute & Peoria (called the Vandalia, now the Pennsylvania); Lake Erie & Western (now Nickel Plate); Big Four (now Peoria & Eastern); Iowa Central (now Minneapolis & St. Louis); Chicago & North Western; Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific; Chicago & Alton (Dwight and Springfield branches); Toledo, Peoria & Western (eastern and western branches); and Peoria & Pekin Union (interurban service to Pekin).

nating Peoria, and then, on October 14, 1957, it was discontinued altogether.

The once busy Peoria Union Station – with the sign "Union Station" still displayed at its east end – since the withdrawal of that lone P. & E. train, has been shorn of its high estate and now does duty as a warehouse.

Passenger train service for Peoria, in March, 1958, consisted of two Rock Island "Rocket" trains to and from Chicago daily, plus bus service to meet main-line Rock Island trains at Bureau. There was, also, a diesel-driven Budd car on the Burlington for transporting mail and express to and from its main line at Galesburg. The Burlington also provided bus service from Peoria for main-line connections at Galesburg. Peoria people found Santa Fe trains, at Chillicothe, eighteen miles north, convenient for California and the West Coast.



Its "minaret" was the most striking feature of the Burlington depot at Quincy, which was erected in 1898.

One of the ironies of the declining passenger train traffic has been the closing by the Burlington of its station in Quincy. Despite the facts that the full name of the road is the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, that the name of Quincy has been so included since the mid-1850's, and that Quincy people have always called it, affectionately, "The Q", or "our railroad," they must now cross the Mississippi River to West Quincy, Missouri, to board trains. Incidentally, Carl Sandburg, native son of Galesburg, also calls the Burlington Route "The Q."[2]

The Quincy station, with its tall, slender tower — almost a minaret in design — was one of the elaborate depots built by the Burlington Route. Another was at Rock Island, also adorned with a tower, and now used by passengers of only a few surviving trains. The Burlington has replaced its large stations at Burlington, Iowa, and Hannibal, Missouri, with smaller, simpler structures. The earlier one at Hannibal had a second-story balcony from which candidates spoke during political campaigns and where Mark Twain stood to greet his friends and neighbors on return visits to his home town.

In 1903, the Illinois Central erected an elaborate, many-gabled station in Decatur to serve passengers on its then main line, and also its Champaign-Decatur and Peoria-Evansville branches, plus those of the Terre Haute-Peoria branch of the Vandalia.[3] After passenger service was discontinued on these lines the station was razed in 1939.

With this curtailment of service it is not surprising that many county-seat towns, some of them sizeable — Pekin (1950 population 21,858) for instance — are without pas-

2. Carl Sandburg, *Always the Young Strangers* (New York, 1952), 18, 99.

3. Officially the Terre Haute & Peoria, now a part of the Pennsylvania.

senger trains today. Other, larger cities are reduced to service by one road. Bloomington, with a population of 34,163, and four railroads, has passenger service on only one — the G. M. & O. Decatur (66,269) has only the Wabash. Urbana (22,834), official address of the University of Illinois, with three freight routes, has no passenger service — although the Illinois Central provides excellent service to adjoining Champaign. Freeport (22,467) and Rockford (92,927) have only two passenger trains in each direction daily on the Illinois Central. Jacksonville (20,387),

Saybrook was a water stop for steam trains on the Lake Erie and Western road.

with two colleges and three state institutions, has only a diesel-car — or "doodlebug" — passenger connection with Alton and the Burlington.

On the other hand, Galesburg (31,425) enjoys main-line service on the Burlington and the Santa Fe. And Joliet is even more fortunate with streamliners on the Rock Island, Santa Fe and G. M. & O., although some of them stop only for California passengers.

The old-time local passenger train — which so many towns no longer have — usually consisted of a steam locomotive

and its tender, a mail car, a baggage and express car, a "smoker" and a "ladies car." Sometimes the mail compartment was compressed into the end of the baggage car and frequently the train baggageman doubled as the express messenger. Incidentally, railroad men, or "railroaders," as they call themselves, still use the word "consist" as a noun when describing the composition of their trains.

The "crew" of this local train was composed for years of the engineer, fireman, mail clerk, baggage master, expressman, conductor and brakeman. The engineer was, of course, in charge of the engine — he was the boss of the "front end." His assistant, the fireman, stoked the coal from the tender into the engine and also climbed, squirrel-like, over the pile of coal in the tender to operate the pipe from the water tank at the frequent water stops.

The mail clerk worked in the mail car or compartment but his assignment was far lighter than it would be today. Newspapers and magazines did not have the tremendous circulation they now enjoy, direct-mail advertising had not yet been developed, and parcel post did not enter his picture until 1912. The myriad of packages now moving through the mails was handled by the express messenger, or the baggageman-express messenger if, as they frequently were, these two busy tasks were given to one man. The train baggageman needed to be a strong and durable individual for it was his duty to handle the many ponderous trunks and sample cases "checked" by the traveling salesmen or "drummers" using the trains. Some "carried" from six to ten trunks, and one representative of a Baltimore clothing "house" checked twenty-five trunks and sample cases.[4]

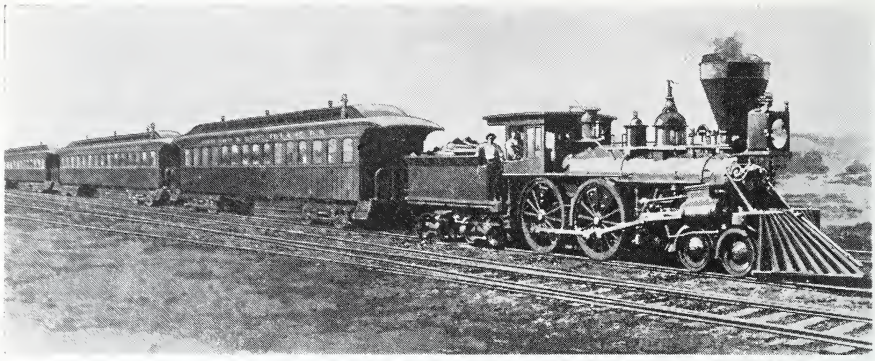
4. *See* Cary Clive Burford, in collaboration with Guy McIlvaine Smith, *The History and Romance of Danville Junction* (Danville, 1942), 183.

Wholesale dry-goods houses, such as John V. Farwell & Co. of Chicago, "traveled" their salesmen with heavy trunks. Shoe and jewelry wholesalers also employed their drummers. Passengers, during this local-train period, "checked" their valises and telescopes[5] and frequently they had trunks as well. Then, too, all college and university students used the local trains and each of them "checked" a trunk heavy with books. Still other additions to the baggageman's burdens were the heavy trunks and awkward scenery of the medley of theatrical companies or "show troupes" that were constantly "on the road."

The express messenger was another busy member of the local train crew — even if he was not doing double duty as baggageman. In the 1890's and early 1900's he was responsible for the thousands of small packages which now are moved through the mails — then they were handled by the individual express companies, Adams, American, United States, Wells-Fargo, Pacific, National and others, which were consolidated into the Railway Express Agency during World War I. The messenger also handled a dizzying array of bread baskets, ice-cream freezers, crates of live chickens, beer kegs, laundry baskets, milk cans, egg crates and other bulky items. Then, too, he had charge of money shipments — usually bags of silver dollars shipped from big city banks to those in small towns. Also, he received the remittances of all agents along the line and gave receipts therefor. These valuable packages were placed in the safe in the express car for delivery to the "top office" of the road — usually in Chicago, St. Louis or Cincinnati.

The one "dressed up" man on the train was the conductor,

5. The telescope was a traveling bag consisting of two sections with the upper fitted over the lower, and the whole held together with "shawl straps."



The original wood-burning Rock Island "Rocket" of 1852.

who was in charge of this little empire on wheels. Some were even elegantly attired with a white vest in summer and a boutonniere. They were usually "lodge men" and wore their fraternal insignia on heavy gold watch chains extended across frequently bulging "tummies."

The conductor was the one contact between the company and the passengers — to them he was the company, just as he is on the sleek transcontinental trains of today. He collected the tickets and, if there was "trouble" regarding a fare, or some disturbance on the train, he was the one who "straightened things out" — or attempted to do so. Conductors varied tremendously in their attitudes toward passengers. Many were kindly and treated women and children with every consideration. Others were stern or even haughty in their dealings. Some were known to be "easy" when inquiring about the ages of children who were then, as now, supposed to pay half-fare after the age of six and full fare when they were twelve and above. Many pious Presbyterian and godly Methodist parents would insist their offspring was only five years old when he or she was really nine, or only eleven when the child was evidently fifteen. Parents often pushed their darlings into a corner between

them and the window sill so that they could not be observed too closely by the conductor, especially when he was considered the "hard-boiled" type who would insist upon the last farthing for the company.

The "easy" conductors were known to the men who wanted to ride without paying their full fares. They would stroll to the last seat in the "ladies' car" where they would slip the conductor fifty cents when the fare was three dollars or more. It was alleged that many conductors "made good money on the side" in this way. Rumor said that one man, after he retired, purchased three farms with what he had "knocked down." Actually, though, most conductors were scrupulously honest with the company.

Many of the conductors were picturesque characters and were known personally to their regular passengers by their first names or nicknames. One of these was Frank Green who commanded a local Wabash train on the Effingham-Bement branch, which turned onto the main line at Bement and made a local passenger run to Danville and return, then back "home" to Effingham. He was mayor of Effingham (1901-1903) and a master politician. Everyone knew Frank and Frank knew everyone. He was a hand-shaker and numbered as his close friends the scores of passengers he carried every day. His train was always called "Green's Train."

Another well-remembered conductor was a wiry little chap who wore a beard that reached to his waist. He braided it and tucked it beneath his vest so it would not get caught when the car door slammed — car doors were always slamming, it seemed. Another wore boots, handmade to his order, of exquisite soft leather. Shoes hurt his feet, he insisted. Since there was no retirement rule at that

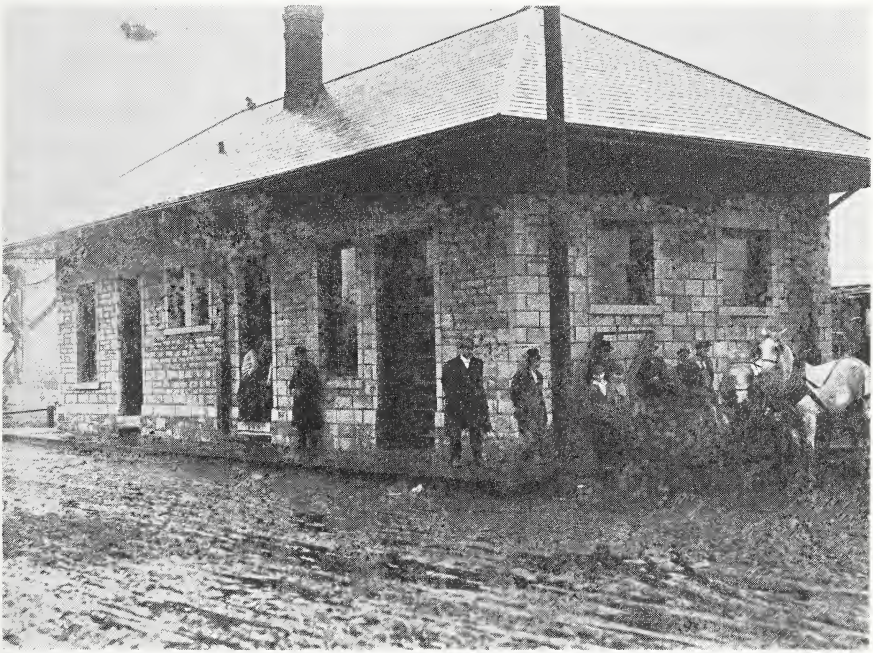
time some conductors continued in active service until they were more than eighty years of age.[6]

The train's all-around handy man was the brakeman, who was usually only slightly less "dressed up" than the conductor — after all he was an apprentice conductor. He would call the names of the stations — although ninety-five per cent of the passengers knew the towns as well as he did — and would alight from the train in all sorts of weather to throw the switch if the train had to "run into the hole," as the side track was called, when meeting another train. The brakeman assisted the ladies up the steps and usually was alert to note the exposure of a bit of feminine stocking above a high button shoe. When a lady inadvertently turned at the top of the steps toward the smoker the brakeman would call up, "Smoking car, lady." Whereupon, she fled in terror to the shelter and protection of the "ladies' car." Ladies, of course, never thought of smoking, hence had no need for "the smoker."

Another, but ex-officio, member of the crew was the "train boy," "train butcher," or "Butch," who sold a variety of goods — newspapers, magazines, fruit, candy, chewing gum and novelties — from a large basket swung over his arm. Although there was a train boy — sometimes as young as fifteen years old — on every local train he was not employed by the railroad but by the Union or Western News Company. His stock of goods, supplied by his company, was called his "slam." His surplus was piled in the front corner seat of the smoker where it was safe from pilfering. In fact, snitching from the slam of a train boy was considered worse than high treason.

6. Frank Hurlburt, Wabash conductor, handled the "Buffalo Flyer" on the Danville to Detroit run until he was in his eighty-third year. Burford, *Danville Junction,* 213.

Mail, baggage and express shared one car on Train No. 4 of the Fulton County Narrow Gauge Railway when this picture was taken about 1895. The three-foot gauge road was known as the "Spoon River Peavine" because of its winding route of sixty-one miles from Galesburg to West Havana. The brick building at the right was the Lewistown depot and headquarters for the line.



It was a rainy day in LaSalle: On October 16, 1914 when this picture was made the Illinois Central depot was a wooden-platformed island in a sea of mud.

Butch sold apples, pears and bananas at three for a dime. Apples at this price seemed outrageously high to country folks who could go out in their own or their neighbors' orchards and pick up all they wanted — for free. And a dime was an immense sum to many passengers. In the smoker Butch found his steady and "quick" money. There he sold cigars and, on the sly, cigarettes which, of course, were utterly "taboo" in the ladies' car. It was the period of "roll your own" when "the makings" were sold by the pack with "the papers" free. Cigarettes were denounced by the older generation as "coffin nails" — young men were admonished that every time they smoked a cigarette they were driving one more nail into the lid of their coffins.

Butch also found an attractive quick profit in articles he bought and sold "on the side" from his slam. One of these was eyeglasses or spectacles, which he peddled through the ladies' car. He purchased them at two or three dollars a dozen and sold them at three dollars each to dear old ladies who were certain they could see much better after buying their new "specs" from the train boy.

Another big profit-maker for Butch was his "hot stuff" department — pictures and "sex books." The pictures were of beautiful girls in scanty attire which he purchased at perhaps a dollar a dozen. Then, when he cornered a country lad in the smoker enjoying, or trying to enjoy, his first "see-gar" — he unloaded them at fifty or seventy-five cents each. The country boy would hide them in the haymow at home to bring out for special showings to visiting neighbor lads.

Butch's "sex books" were merely the physiology texts of today. He bought them in paper backs or cheap hard covers at thirty-five or forty cents each and sold them to

the "hired hands" or "corn shuckers" in the smoking car at two dollars and a half, or three dollars. In that period when patient station agents and telegraph operators worked for $40 or $50 a month some train boys on preferred runs were clearing as high as $50 or $75 a week.

If Butch had few bargains in his "slam," the railroads of the period did offer something that was a bargain then and would be at any time — that was the special excursion train. Sunday excursions were featured for years by many roads with "special rates" sometimes as low as a dollar for a round trip of a hundred miles or more. Those were the years when the silver dollar was king. A veteran ticket agent[7] told this writer that one Sunday morning he sold so many excursion fares to Indianapolis at one dollar each and received so many silver dollars that he could not possibly put them in the conventional cash drawer. So he threw them into a bucket and when the train of sixteen cars pulled out he had a bucket full of silver dollars.

Not all excursions were relatively short-distance affairs, for a number of railroads ran special trains to Niagara Falls with fares as low as seven dollars for the round trip. "Cheaper than staying at home" was the comment frequently heard. All of these Niagara Falls excursions with their fifteen to twenty wooden coaches, jammed with humanity, made the round trip safely with the exception of one Toledo, Peoria & Western train which was involved in the historic Chatsworth wreck.[8] And it more than made up for all of the safe trips. This train of approximately twenty coaches, on the night of August 10-11, 1887, plunged from a burning trestle near Chatsworth, Illinois, with a loss of 85 killed

7. Guy McIlvain Smith, Big Four agent at the Vermilion St. Station, Danville about 1903.

8. *See* Cary Clive Burford, *The Chatsworth Wreck* (Fairbury, Ill., 1949).

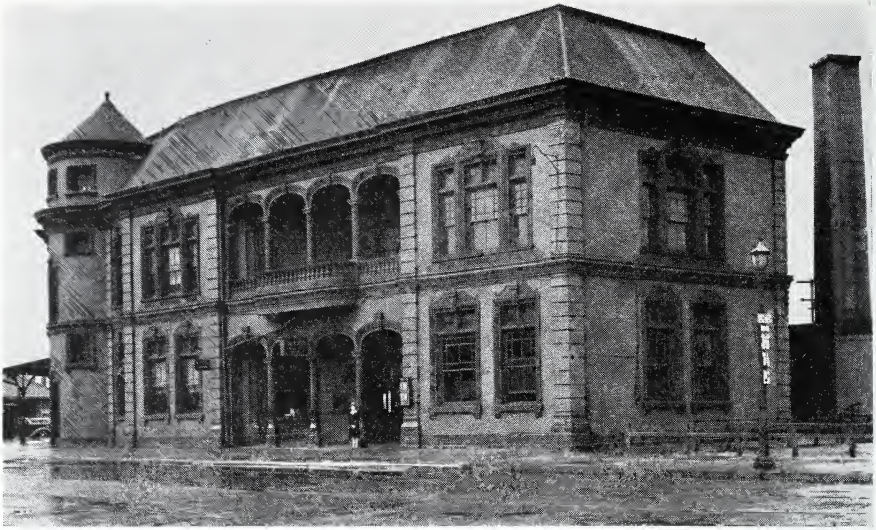
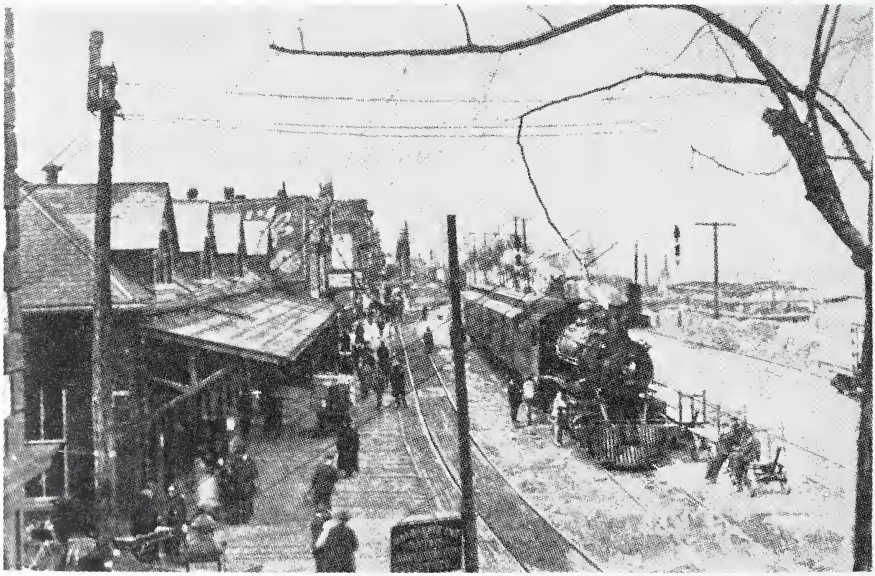


PHOTO COURTESY BURLINGTON ROUTE

This Burlington depot at Hannibal, Missouri — with its "Mark Twain" balcony — was constructed in 1882. The picture was made in May, 1944, and the building has since been razed and replaced by a one-story, red brick structure which was dedicated in 1954.

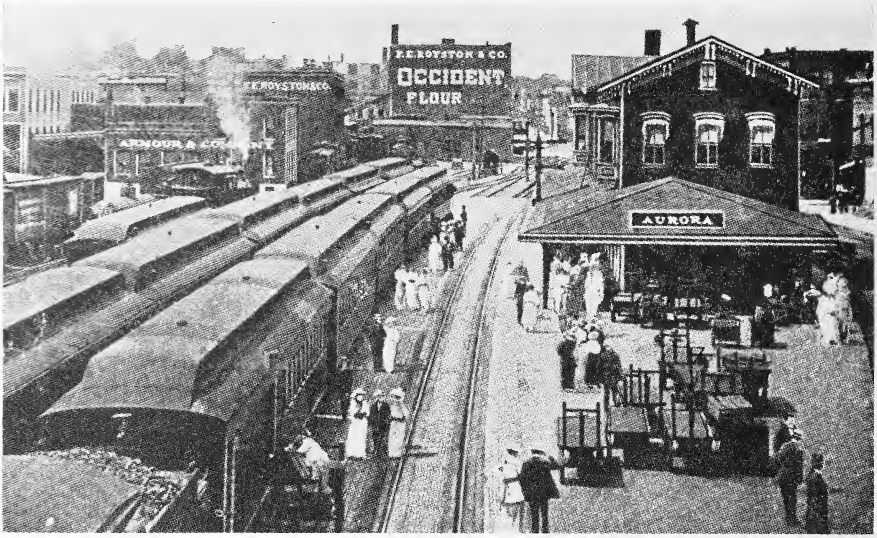


Where the Illinois Central met the Ohio River — the I. C. depot on Ohio Street in Cairo with river barges in the right background.

and perhaps 300 injured. The property damage and claims against the road were so heavy that it was thrown into receivership.

Naturally, when people depended so greatly upon passenger trains, especially local passenger trains, a familiarity grew up whereby they affectionately nicknamed the roads and the trains. Thus the Toledo, Peoria & Western came to be known as the "The Tip-Up." The Lake Erie & Western, which ran from Peoria to Sandusky, Ohio, handled a heavy local passenger business for many years and its trains, stopping at every station, were necessarily slow. Hence, the road was dubbed the "Leave Early and Walk," — a good walker, it was alleged, could outdistance a Lake Erie train. An interesting little road operated for many years between Sidell and Olney, Illinois, parallel to the Indiana state line. Its official name was the "Chicago & Ohio River Railroad" and the wiseacres declared it was correctly named since it reached neither Chicago nor the Ohio River. Its train was nicknamed "The Doty." For years the butt of jokesmiths was the Hooppole, Yorktown & Tampico Railroad, east of Rock Island. Without a turntable on the line, the locomotive, known as "The Dummy," had to back up in one direction. There were a number of these one-way operations throughout the state. One was on the Sidney-Champaign branch of the Wabash, which for years carried many passengers to and from the University of Illinois.

One local passenger train that deserves a book rather than just a few lines was "The Dolly," which traveled her route for more than eighty years as a part of the Burlington system. Her full name, of course, was "The Dolly Varden" but this was shortened by her friends to simply "The Dolly." Often called "the old girl," she was named — along with a style



The Aurora depot on the Burlington often presented a busy — and fashionable — scene. The depot was built in 1865 and was in use until 1922.

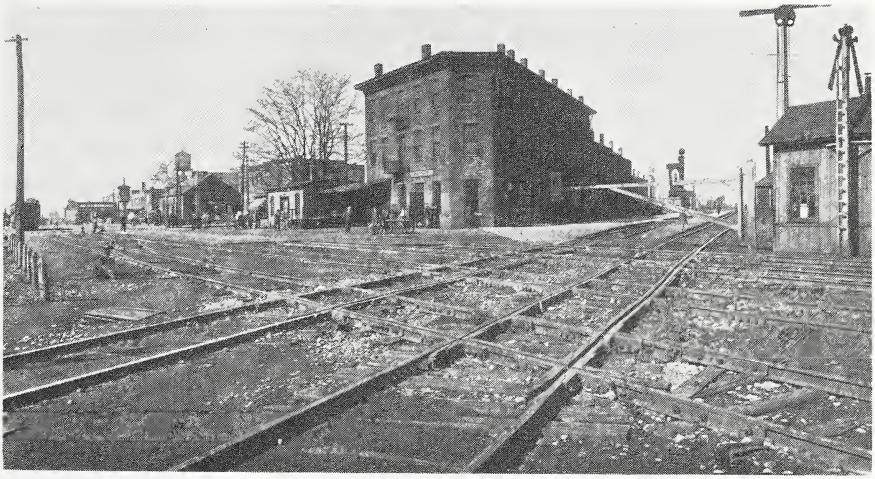
of women's dresses and hats, and a trout — for a coquettish lass in Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge* and the popular American entertainer, Dolly Varden O'Dell.

Originally, the Dolly had been a four-unit train, with locomotive and tender, combination mail, baggage and express car, a smoker and a ladies' car. But by the time of her last run she was reduced to a "doodlebug" in size — a diesel car with mail and baggage compartments and an area for passengers. The Dolly operated between Burlington, Iowa, and Galesburg, Illinois, via Oquawka, Aledo and Galva. She left Burlington at 6:45 A.M., arrived at Galesburg at 10:45, and "laid over" until 2:30 P.M., when she began her return trip, arriving at 6:40 P.M. Her schedule changed, of course, across the years.

The last run of the Dolly was made February 16, 1952, a date long to be remembered.[9] It was a real "Old Home

9. *Times-Record,* Aledo, Ill., special "Dolly Issue," Feb. 13, 1952.

In May, 1903, when this picture was taken, Decatur's Illinois Central depot was a huge, many-gabled marvel.



The Essex House, where the Great Western and Illinois Central crossed, was long a Mattoon landmark. Abraham Lincoln changed trains here early in 1861 when he went to Charleston to visit his stepmother, Sarah Bush Lincoln, for the last time.

Week," a Roman holiday, indeed. Kind housewives along the route brought cakes, cookies, pies and other tidbits for the crew. Usual business was neglected while everyone went to the depot in Viola, Alpha, New Windsor, Keithsburg, New Boston (where the Dolly backed in or out of town), Joy, Oquawka and other towns on the route.

The conductor on this last run was Louis Astle, then seventy-nine, and almost as much a Burlington institution as the Dolly herself. The mail clerk contrived a special stamp reading, "Death of the Dolly. Last Trip," which he affixed to all mail handled that day. Newspapers in nearby cities — Rock Island, Moline, Davenport, Burlington, Muscatine, Galesburg and others — sent photographers and reporters to record the last trip of this old veteran of the rails. Incidentally, Robert T. Glenn, a mail clerk, wrote a column headed "The Dolly, By Golly," which ran for about five years in the *Aledo Times-Record.*

I have taken rides on several "last trains" in the half-dozen years since the Dolly waved farewell to her friends and passengers and have noticed a waning enthusiasm for such events. Probably there have been too many "last runs." The most recent of these was on October 14, 1957, when the Peoria & Eastern, an old-time Big Four route now leased to the New York Central, made its final trip from Indianapolis to Pekin and return. There was a coach filled with passengers, sure enough, but there was little interest shown at the various stations along the route. When we arrived in Farmer City I found businessmen who did not realize that the P. & E., as it was called, was making its last run on a line that had been serving the people since 1870. "Oh, was this the day for the last train?" several inquired.

OTTO EISENSCHIML

A "Study" of John Surratt?

Otto Eisenschiml is a Chicago chemist, member of the National Research Council and New York Academy of Sciences. He is the author of eight books and co-author of four more. He is noted particularly for his detailed study of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and for his best-known book Why Was Lincoln Murdered?, *which was dramatized under the title "Mr. President." His latest book is* Why the Civil War?

IN THE December, 1957, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* Alfred Isacsson has undertaken to retell the complex and adventurous story of John Harrison Surratt, son of the woman who was hanged as an alleged conspirator against Lincoln's life.

The article arouses hopes that it will bring much hidden material to light, for the author presents an imposing array of footnotes. As the sophisticated reader scans them carefully, however, he will smile and suspect that he is due for a disappointment; and so it will turn out to be, more's the pity.

The few new or lesser known incidents Isacsson has worked into his account lean strongly toward the picayunish side. We are told, for example, that Surratt's mother (who has nothing to do with this "study") had been educated by a Mrs. Winifred Martin, whose school was located in Alexandria. We are further informed that Surratt's arrest was

to be executed by a sergeant named Halyrid; but that when his squad could not find the suspect, another squad was ordered out, commanded by a corporal named Vanderstroeten, who was more successful, and who then turned him over to a corporal by the name of Warrin. Interesting, isn't it?

More trivia of this nature are in store for us. Louis Weichmann, one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution in both trials, moved into Mrs. Surratt's boardinghouse, and we are happy to learn that he "seems to have been satisfied with the furnishings in his room, although they consisted of one bed, a table, a looking glass and three trunks." It is also made known to us that his sister Anna shared a room with her cousin Olivia Jenkins, while Mrs. Surratt occupied the bedroom behind the parlor, and shared it with a Miss Honora Fitzpatrick. A young orphan named Appolonia Dean is next introduced, and so is the Negress Susan Ann Jackson, who did the laundry. She is never mentioned again, but so long as she is mentioned at all, she should have been called by her real name, which at that time was not Jackson, but Mahoney. We are also informed that another boarder, a Mr. Holohan, occupied the two front rooms on the third floor and had a wife and a child. Since these people played only a microscopic part in the drama, and some of them played no part whatever, the reason for the space devoted to them is obscure. And talking about wrong names — the author of the *History of the Secret Service* was not Charles L. Baker, but Lafayette C. Baker.

Now that we have gained an insight into the intimate life of Mrs. Surratt's boardinghouse, we are treated to another morsel: When Booth and Surratt went out riding, they

usually patronized the stable owned by one William Cleaver. There is one interesting thing about this Mr. Cleaver — he once stole a horse which had been entrusted to his care, but as hard luck would have it, it belonged to Mr. Bradley, the lawyer who later defended Surratt, and who made Cleaver confess his theft on the witness stand. This portion of the morsel, however, Mr. Isacsson kept to himself.

Isacsson's accuracy in other trivial details also is debatable, and he often misses what little significance they may possess. He tells us, for instance, that Weichmann pilfered copies of dispatches from the War Department and turned them over to Surratt. In truth Weichmann hardly had access to important dispatches, for he was a clerk in the office of the Commissary General of Prisoners, which contained only the records of prison camps. It was the number of prisoners on hand which he slipped to Surratt for what they may have been worth. In view of the fact that Surratt's last mission was to spy on the Confederate prison camp at Elmira, this fact should have merited some consideration.

The author next takes us through the first attempt of the conspirators to kidnap Lincoln, and immediately stumbles — or did he? — over the name of Lewis Paine, which he misspells Payne. Photostatic evidence that *Paine* was the right spelling, and that both the official trial record and previous authors had erred in this respect, has been available for many years. Even Jim Bishop, Isacsson's patron saint and historical guide, adopted the correct spelling. Why, then, this peculiar deviation?

The first kidnapping attempt was to take place in a theater, and someone had to plunge the house into darkness by shutting off the master gas valve, which was located near the prompter's desk. Isacsson claims that Surratt was

chosen for this task, although for once he gives no reference for his statement. This was an assignment which Booth would have given only to an actor familiar with theatrical equipment and known to the cast and to the stagehands. An outsider like Surratt might have fumbled the operation, and probably would have been ejected by the theater's personnel before he had gotten near the shut-off valve. Booth's original choice for the job had been the actor Samuel Chester, and when he refused, Booth had vainly tried to enlist another actor named Mathews; but I can find no mention of these two actors. Chester's testimony at the conspiracy trial, that all he had been asked to do was to open the stage door to the alley, may well be doubted, because even the stupid Herold could have perfomed this menial work, and Surratt certainly would have scorned it.

Isacsson cites some "January activities" to prove that January 13 was the date set for this kidnapping attempt, but he omits other arguments of greater persuasiveness. In the middle of January a cotton broker was denied passage across the Potomac, because the boatman George Atzerodt, another conspirator, explained that he expected a more important party. Samuel B. Arnold, who also belonged to the Booth group, expected the climax of the plot about the same time, and the actor Chester had been asked to be in Washington around the middle of January. Curiously, Isacsson overlooks that the actions of Surratt, the hero of this story, support the appropriate correctness of that date, because he left his position hurriedly on January 13. He did not do so in order to "go into the country" for "blockade running of the Union lines," as Isacsson presumes, but in order to be on hand to speed the captive Lincoln over the abduction route through a part of Maryland which he knew

thoroughly. Why Isacsson has Surratt going blockade-running at the time when Booth allegedly needed him to shut a gas valve in Washington is difficult to understand.

Although much has been written about the Surratt story, it still offers a fruitful field for historical explorers, because it suffers from many important gaps and puzzling aspects. Unfortunately, the author has not availed himself of his opportunities. One of the unexplained mysteries concerns the second kidnapping attempt, which was scheduled for the month of March. The would-be kidnappers were ready to waylay Lincoln's carriage, but were baffled, because, so Isacsson says, "it was not Lincoln's."

Here Isacsson stops, leaving the reader to answer for himself the obvious questions which present themselves. How did they know the carriage was not Lincoln's, and if it was not, whose was it? Was it an open carriage, so that the passenger could have been recognized from the distance, and if it was not, did they have to stop it to see who was inside? Did the carriage keep on going, or did it turn back? Were the conspirators recognized by the unidentified passenger, and did he report his experience to the Washington authorities? Perhaps Isacsson did not know the answers to these questions, but he should at least have pointed out their significance; for if the plotters had been recognized, and the authorities alerted, the War Department must have known who they were a month before the assassination, and could have averted the tragedy at Ford's Theatre.

Equally puzzling questions arise in connection with Surratt's flight following his arrest in Italy. It is known that he jumped over a balustrade, and landed on some rocks twenty-three feet below (not twenty to thirty-five feet, as

John H. Surratt, in the uniform of a Papal Zouave.

the author asserts). "He injured his arm and back," Isacsson writes, but gives no reference. "He made his way into the valley below, thereby gaining a lead on the Zouave patrols who were in pursuit." According to an official report which Isacsson does not quote, at least fifty soldiers were engaged in pursuing Surratt within five minutes of his jump. How come that fifty soldiers could not catch up with an injured man who, moreover, stated subsequently that he had been knocked senseless by his fall? But our author is not intrigued, nor does he seem to wonder how Surratt, still wearing his colorful Zouave uniform, could walk some twenty miles through Papal territory without being stopped, in spite of the patrols, which undoubtedly by then were roving through the countryside.

It is only fair to state that Isacsson did do some slight worrying about another perplexing incident. A Zouave named Saint-Marie had penetrated Surratt's disguise and had given a sworn statement regarding it. This statement was received by the State Department, but forwarded to the War Department for its consideration. "Why," Isacsson says, "is an unanswerable question." On the contrary, to anyone familiar with the background of Washington politics at that time, the answer is fairly obvious.

Isacsson makes it appear that President Johnson was afraid to have Surratt brought back, because he might, if approached by the Radicals, "make almost any statement." As a matter of fact, the War Department had much more to fear from Surratt's return than the President. A reinvestigation of Lincoln's assassination and a searchlight on the way the conspiracy trial had been conducted would have had calamitous consequences for those who were guilty of Mrs. Surratt's judicial murder.

In writing that the testimony of several government witnesses in the Surratt trial "was very noticeably lacking in detail," the author is putting it rather mildly. He cites as examples a Sergeant Dye and a soldier named Ramsell. Dye was proven a liar and in addition was shown to be under indictment as a counterfeiter. Ramsell admitted that he had identified Surratt only by looking at his back. The remainder of the witnesses for the prosecution were of similar caliber. Isacsson's abbreviated story of the trial does not make clear the depths to which the prosecuting attorney, the War Department and the judge stooped to bring about Surratt's conviction. A more thorough analysis of the trial, one of the most scandalous on record, would have been far more interesting than the recital of the trifling data with which Isacsson's account is studded.

Although the author condenses Surratt's trial to small proportions, he cannot resist the temptation to relate some trivia. Of what interest is it that the illness of the judge delayed the initial argument, unless the spuriousness of his alleged illness and the reasons therefor are disclosed? Would it not also have been appropriate to cite Welles's entry in his diary, showing that the State Department, which had no more to do with a civilian court case than had the War Department, hired ex-Congressman Albert G. Riddle "to hunt up or manufacture testimony against Surratt"?

The author completely ignores the obstacles thrown into the path of the defense by Judge George Fisher, and his outrageous instructions to the jury. He does not tell that the War Department examined and prepared witnesses, nor does one find mention of the threat by the prosecuting attorney, seconded by Fisher, that in case of acquittal the capital of the nation might be transferred to another city.

It further might have been well to state that the crucial point on which the defendant's fate depended — where he had been on the fateful April 14 — was cleared up many years later by the prosecuting attorney himself, who admitted that Surratt, according to "the weight of the evidence," had on that day been in New York, not in Washington, and therefore could not have had any connection with the assassination.

Otherwise Isacsson's article is largely a compilation of known facts, and makes fairly good reading, but it does not contain the kind of new material or novel interpretations which would qualify it as a worthwhile contribution to history.

PHOTO BY ED WOJTAS, COURTESY CHAMPAIGN-URBANA COURIER

Carl Sandburg and friends on the University of Illinois campus during the celebration of his eightieth birthday.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN

Carl Sandburg at Eighty

John T. Flanagan is a professor of English at the University of Illinois, Urbana, and a frequent contributor to this Journal. *This tribute to Carl Sandburg is a result of the poet's eightieth-birthday visit to the campus, where an elaborate exhibit of his printed works was on display.*

CARL SANDBURG celebrated his eightieth birthday on January 6, 1958. As a young octogenarian he can look back on an impressive literary career more than half a century long. No living American writer has done so many things so well. It is forty-four years since he published his great panegyric to Chicago, city of the big shoulders and the nation's freight handler, and since that time he has established himself as poet, troubadour, biographer, creator of fairy tales, novelist and autobiographer. Only yesterday, it seems, Sandburg published not only a robust historical novel, *Remembrance Rock,* but also the first installment of a fascinating autobiography, *Always the Young Strangers.* And at this moment there is a new Sandburg volume on the booksellers' shelves, *The Sandburg Range,* an anthology skilfully contrived to reveal the scope and power of an immensely varied talent. His versatility and vitality suggest a Victor Hugo or a Goethe.

As a young veteran returning from the Spanish-American

War to Lombard College at Galesburg, Illinois, Sandburg already envisioned a literary career. But the road was tortuous and long. Such rare early pamphlets as *In Reckless Ecstasy* and *Incidentals,* published by Philip Wright's Asgard Press at Galesburg in 1904, reveal his resolute ambition, but they attracted little attention. Indeed, their prose is more vigorous than their verse. Despite his admission that he might some day be embarrassed by these "youthful impertinences," Sandburg already looked at the world with a Whitman-like expansiveness. He did not deny the evil nor the economic inequities of life, but he affirmed the right of every man to his portion of happiness and he asserted his own optimism and idealism. The successful man, the young writer declared in 1904, must be ready to take risks and to defend his choice, even if his decision meant shaking hands with a mistake every week. More than thirty years before the exultant optimism of *The People, Yes,* Sandburg was ready to announce his faith in humanity.

Journalistic days in Chicago demanded much of his energy, but they also brought him a livelihood and left him time for poetry. And the city itself was a constant challenge. To Sandburg, Chicago was big and dirty and uncouth, but it was also proud and energetic. With its feverish activity, its hard ambition, its constant cycle of destruction and rebuilding, it symbolized America. Unlike other men of letters temporarily or permanently resident in Chicago — Hamlin Garland and Henry Blake Fuller, Robert Herrick and Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson and James T. Farrell — Sandburg has been a persistent partisan of the Lake Michigan metropolis. He has not denied the corruption and the materialism, but he has consistently praised the virility of Chicago. Possibly in the strength of the

sprawling city he saw reflected his own quenchless vitality.

Chicago Poems, published in 1916, came as a kind of shock to a public for whom poetry meant platitudes embalmed in stereotypes. For several decades American poetry had been in the doldrums. Whitman's *Leaves of Grass,* to be sure, was slowly finding the audience which the poet confidently expected for it, and occasional fresh voices like Stephen Crane and Emily Dickinson made themselves heard. William Vaughn Moody's anti-imperialistic verse, too, pleased readers whom his mythological epics left untouched. But the bulk of the poetry published in magazines was flaccid, imitative and rhetorical. Sandburg's first important book, on the contrary, was like a breath of fresh air. For here were rough male rhythms, rich in slang and popular idiom and dealing jauntily with subjects usually untroubled by poets. If in cadence and form *Chicago Poems* resembled Whitman, certainly the language, the salient details, the perception of color and beauty in the city streets were Sandburg's own. Sandburg was the first American poet to write durable verse about steel girders and blast furnaces, about bridges and skyscrapers. The heterogeneous workers who fired the steel mills haunted him as the simple leech-gatherer did Wordsworth. He chose as his protagonists the track layers, the muckers, the owl car straphangers of the city which he roamed daily as a reporter, and he excoriated the exploiters of the people even if, like Billy Sunday, they posed as evangelists.

Subsequent collections of verse confirmed Sandburg's role as the sympathetic interpreter of the proletariat and the urban scene, but they also revealed him as a genuine singer of the western landscape and its folk. The boy brought up on the Illinois cornlands could never forget the farms

of his youth, the ripple of the grain fields and the color of the skies.

> "I have loved the prairie as a man with a heart shot full of pain over love."

No American poet has been more sensitive to spatial immensity, to cloud nuances and river reflections, to the iridescence of the seasons. Not for him perhaps are the philosophic quests which led Emerson to the rhodora or Bryant to the yellow violet, but in the cat feet of fog and the green virility of grass and the flame-tongues of fire logs Sandburg found charm and beauty. Delight in the sensuousness of nature has characterized the poet from the days of *Cornhuskers* to the time when he first wrote verse at Flat Rock, North Carolina. It is perhaps another of the many links between him and Whitman.

If Sandburg began as a folk poet and remains essentially a folk poet, he has also been much more. Countless audiences have been enthralled by his work as a collector and singer of folk songs. Although without the benefit of formal vocal training, he has a deep and resonant voice, and experience quickly taught him the value of timing and tempo. To college campus, theater, convention hall he brought the stories of John Henry, Joe Hill, Frankie and Johnny, the tribulations of the boll weevil in its indefatigable search for a home, and such ballads as "The Buffalo Skinners" and "El-A-Noy." Moreover, Sandburg constantly added to his repertory during his travels. Eventually his collection of ditties and broadsides spilled into a book and *The American Songbag* was born, one of the first serious attempts to assemble and record the authentic songs of the American people. Here tributes to occupational heroes were juxtaposed with English and Scottish ballads imported and

changed by American singers, while work chants of the Erie Canal and the Union Pacific Railroad nudged pioneer memories and jail songs. Appropriately enough the volume concluded with a section of Negro spirituals. Other folk singers like Burl Ives or Richard Dyer-Bennet may have greater range or polish in performance, but none is a truer bard or troubadour than Carl Sandburg. And scholars as well as audiences have testified to his inestimable services in preserving and interpreting American folk song.

This same quality of spokesman for the folk explains in large part, one feels, the success of Sandburg's monumental life of Abraham Lincoln. The Lincoln biography occupied most of his attention between the two world wars and reached its culmination in 1939 with the publication of *The War Years*. The twentieth century has seen the appearance of a number of memorable studies of Lincoln, among them the biographies of Lord Charnwood, Ida M. Tarbell, Albert J. Beveridge, and James G. Randall. But Sandburg's six-volume work is unique in its panoramic canvas, its plethora of details, and its spirit of consecration and sympathy. Sandburg's notes, a spate of excerpted articles and studies, and the extensively indexed and annotated volumes in his library testify to the care which he lavished on his project. If he brought no new and challenging interpretations to bear on the subject, he nevertheless kept Lincoln as the dramatic central figure and he etched a score of brilliant military and political portraits. Moreover, he incorporated into his biography a vast amount of material which, if occasionally tangential, is immensely revealing.

Probably the quality which has most satisfied the readers of Sandburg's biography is his ability to see always the humanity, the simplicity, the doubts and uncertainties and

loneliness of Lincoln. Particularly in *The Prairie Years* there is apparent the almost physical proximity of biographer and biographee, for here the boy who grew up on the Illinois prairies meets the man who came to maturity at New Salem. Rarely has a closer rapport been established between subject and chronicler.

The narrative momentum of the Lincoln biography carried Sandburg into other projects, equally ambitious but more personal. At the age of sixty-five he began his first substantial work of fiction, and in less than five years produced a novel of 1,067 pages, *Remembrance Rock*. Here he traced the pageant of American history from the flight of the Pilgrims across the English Channel to Amsterdam to the assault on Pearl Harbor. Fiction is not Sandburg's happiest medium, yet the reader cannot help but be impressed by the diversity and emotional warmth of the book. It suffers from prolixity more than his other work and at the same time its panoramic richness appeals. Like Stephen Vincent Benét, Sandburg saw in the saga of American settlement a challenging subject for imaginative treatment.

The project presently occupying Sandburg in his Flat Rock study is his autobiography. A substantial part of this, *Always the Young Strangers,* has already appeared, yet even four hundred pages were not enough to carry the writer to the beginning of his college period. Like the Lincoln biography, Sandburg's story of his own life is replete with details and suffused with the feeling of a place and a time. He is honest in the portrayal of his parents, hardy Swedish emigrants with little culture and nothing but their hands to rely on for a livelihood but gifted with a sturdy integrity. And he is frank in recounting the domestic hardships of the early Galesburg days.

As the boy grew up he became more conscious of the town and its mores. He carried bills, lingered around the haunts of the railroad men, played baseball, delivered papers and packages, drove a milk wagon, and learned about books by collecting cigarette biographies. Fascinating chapters record the wisecracks, jokes, kid talk, and folklore of the populace, the kind of material which Sandburg incorporated sparingly into *Good Morning, America,* and lavishly into *The People, Yes.* He went to hear medicine men, orators, political campaigners, and road productions of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." But, although he relives his boyhood years in full flavor, he is not, as Mark Twain so often seemed to be, imprisoned in his boyhood. Galesburg was neither utopia nor a prairie Sodom. If he was conscious of the existence of social evils, he was also aware of the friendliness and intimacy and quiet contentment of small-town life. All were part of his education in a community that to him was "a piece of the American Republic."

On reading this first segment of a memorable autobiography, one can only marvel at Sandburg's almost total recall. Even after sixty years he is still precise about dates, names, and places, and the anecdotes which he tells have the freshness of a new television program. Certainly his personal chronicle will lure readers for years to come.

As later sections of his autobiography take shape in his North Carolina retreat, one hopes that Sandburg will continue his triumphant distillation of an amazingly diversified life. He has brought poetry and song to more audiences than either Vachel Lindsay or Robert Frost could command. He has been equally at home on the rostrum, on the stage, and before the microphone and the television camera. Long-playing records will fortunately preserve his voice

and his inimitable delivery for posterity. He has served as narrator for symphony orchestras and as keynote speaker at civic banquets. New York and Washington know him as well as Chicago, and at present he claims that he is a domesticated Tarheel by virtue of paying taxes to the state of North Carolina. But to the minds and memories of most Americans, Carl Sandburg symbolizes the Middle West and particularly Illinois, the land of Lincoln.

In a long career Sandburg has won many honors. Medals and accolades have come his way in profusion. He has twice been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished work in history and poetry. No living American author can match his versatility. But so far one literary distinction has been denied him. It would seem particularly fitting at this time if the selection committee for the Nobel Prize in literature were to choose Carl Sandburg as the next recipient of this most celebrated international award. Surely no writer better represents today the idealism of the American folk and the conviction that the people will triumph in the future than this rugged, prairie-born poet of Swedish descent.

Lincolniana Notes

"Duff" Armstrong Trial Re-Enacted

THE FIRST of the numerous Abraham Lincoln centennial observances of 1958 took place at Beardstown on May 5, 6 and 7, when the Beardstown Rotary Club presented a re-enactment of the famous "almanac" trial in which Lincoln secured the acquittal of William "Duff" Armstrong, son of his old friend Jack Armstrong, on a murder charge.

Duff and James H. Norris were charged with the murder of James Preston Metzker during a fight on August 29, 1857, at a temporary bar set up one mile from a camp meeting near Virgin's Grove in Mason County. Norris was tried in Mason County, convicted and sentenced to eight years in the penitentiary. Lincoln, appealed to by Hannah Armstrong, Jack's widow and Duff's mother, agreed to assist William Walker in Duff's defense, and secured a change of venue to Cass County. At the trial, May 6-7, 1858, in the old courthouse (now the city hall) in Beardstown, prosecutors Hugh Fullerton and J. Henry Shaw based their case upon the testimony of Charles Allen, who stated that he saw Duff hit Metzker with a "slung-shot" from some 150 feet away, by the light of the moon which was nearly overhead. Lincoln's production of the almanac, showing that the moon was in fact near the horizon almost ready to set, together with his emotional plea to the jury in behalf of the son of his old friend, and medical testimony that Metzker's skull fracture could have come from his fall from a horse, brought acquittal and freedom to Duff. On the basis of this evidence Norris was also released.

The re-enactment script was written by the late Allen Thurman Lucas of Chandlerville, based upon the records of the original trial. It was presented for the first time during the Beardstown city centennial in 1929. The 1958 re-enactment was originally scheduled

for only two nights, but overflow crowds at both performances induced the cast to repeat the trial a third time.

Judge Hardin Hanks, whose great-grandfather was a brother of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, presided at the trial, taking the part of the original presiding judge James Harriot. Alford R. Dick portrayed his grandfather, James A. Dick, sheriff at the original trial. Carl Looman took the part of Lincoln; Nels Glesne was Duff and Mrs. John Beatty, Hannah Armstrong. Robert Turner portrayed Circuit Clerk James Taylor; Milton McClure, Glenn Fearneyhough and Fred Reither were Attorneys Fullerton, Shaw and Walker respectively. Witnesses were George Barkley Bley, Dr. R. A. Spencer, Glenn Show, Paul Woods, Oscar Trout, B. W. Smith, Jacob Lienhard, Le Roy Hegener and Dal Welbourne. Jurors were Walter McGinnis, Wilburn Briney, K. M. Feagan, G. G. Jones, Alvin Reichert, Vernon Pilger, Elmer Huss, Walter Millard, Jim Hubbell, Miller Dunn, Ray Logsdon and Otis Adkins.

The solemnity of the proceedings was disturbed — at least in the re-enactment — by antics on the part of some of the jurors, very unfitting to a courtroom. The most unsatisfactory portion of the script however, was Lincoln's final plea to the jury, which in 1858 took an hour and a half, and was cut in the re-enactment to less than five minutes, with only a sentence or two on Lincoln's friendship with the Armstrong family. Coming as it did practically at the end, this was something of an anticlimax.

Lincoln's Association With New Boston

THAT Abraham Lincoln surveyed the town of New Boston and certified the plat thereof on September 30, 1834 has long been known to Lincoln students. The names of the proprietors of the town also were known — and that was about all. New Boston is on the east bank of the Mississippi River at a point identified at the time as the Upper Yellow Banks. It was in territory then attached to Warren County but now in Mercer County.

Additional information on this little epsode in Lincoln's life has

recently been uncovered by George A. Seipp of Minneapolis, Minnesota. Seipp is a bookbinder by trade and a Lincoln student by avocation. A part of his work is the restoration of old records, which he does for many of the counties throughout Illinois. When he handles such records he is constantly on the lookout for references to Lincoln. Not long ago he worked on the old deed books of Mercer County and in them he found several deeds that Lincoln had witnessed.

The New Boston site, consisting of 240 acres, had been purchased from the federal government by John W. and William Deniston, who had decided it offered an ideal location for a town. They then interested two other men in the venture: William H. Deniston and Elijah Iles of Sangamon County. From the records it can be deduced that some time in late September, 1834, William H. Deniston, Peter Van Bergen, as agent for Iles, and Abraham Lincoln visited the New Boston site. At this time Lincoln surveyed the town and made the plat which he certified on September 30, when he also witnessed three deeds. The first of these deeds showed that John W. Deniston sold his interest in the land to William Deniston for $900. This made the latter sole owner of the property. William Deniston then deeded one-third of his holdings to Elijah Iles and another third to William H. Deniston for $900 each. On the following day, October 1, Van Bergen filed the plat made by Lincoln at the Warren County recorder's office at Monmouth and paid a fee of $6.00. He also filed the deed from John W. Deniston to William Deniston and the one from William to Elijah Iles. The recorder returned the Iles deed and the New Boston plat to Van Bergen on October 2, so it would be logical to assume that Van Bergen and Lincoln left Monmouth on that day for their return trip to New Salem and Springfield.

On July 12, 1836, an auction sale of lots was held at New Boston, and on the same day the New Boston plat was recorded — for the second time — at the Mercer County courthouse in Aledo. In 1848, Elijah Iles sued John W. Deniston in the Mercer County Circuit Court for a one-third interest in what was designated as Lot D on the original plat of New Boston. This was land that had been set

aside for the courthouse in the hope that the new town would be made the county seat. A bill was filed on April 11, 1848 and a supplemental bill on August 31, 1849. Eventually Iles won the suit.

The original New Boston plat was one of the exhibits in this case but it has since become separated from the file and its present location is unknown. Photostats of the available papers in the case are now in the Historical Library.

"House Divided" Speech Republished

THE ILLINOIS State Historical Society has issued a pamphlet containing a facsimile reproduction of the rare first separate printing of the "House Divided" speech of Abraham Lincoln, with an introduction by Secretary-Treasurer Clyde C. Walton. This brochure becomes No. 1 in the Society's new Pamphlet Series and a copy will be sent to each member of the organization.

The publication date of the pamphlet was June 16, the centennial of the day the speech was delivered, and coincided with the re-enactment of that event in the Sangamon County courthouse — the statehouse of a hundred years ago.

The original pamphlet is a part of the Lincoln collection of the Illinois State Historical Library and is one of only two copies now known to exist. It is sixteen pages in length and 3½ by 5¼ inches in size. In the reproduced page the type has been enlarged 55 per cent to make it more legible. With the introduction the new 6-by-9-inch pamphlet is 24 pages, plus a heavy white cover.

The political background of the speech and its importance to Lincoln and the state are told by the Secretary-Treasurer in his introduction. The original pamphlet, he explains was published by C. W. Waite, editor of the *Sycamore* (Illinois) *True Republican.* Waite was one of more than twenty newspapermen who attended the Republican Party convention in Springfield on June 16, 1858, and when he returned home he took a copy of Lincoln's speech with him. He published it in the June 29 issue of his paper and then used the same type to print the pamphlet.

Book Reviews

CREATED EQUAL? THE COMPLETE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858

Edited and with an Introduction by Paul M. Angle. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1958. *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* Vol. XXXIII. Pp. 422. $2.50.)

Paul M. Angle again has made an important addition to the Lincoln field. His latest book gives to the general reader as well as to the scholar the full text (with brief annotation) of the seven Debates together with three significant pre-debate 1858 speeches by Lincoln and two by Douglas. Angle notes that these five earlier speeches "must be considered integral parts of the campaign (p. xxvi)."

The text of the seven Debates has been available in the various collections of Lincoln's works, the best being in the third volume of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Rutgers University Press, 1953, 9 vols.). Edwin Erle Sparks's *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858,* Vol. III of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library* (1908), is a valuable compendium, with extensive contemporary newspaper comment supplementing the text of the Debates and Sparks's own introductory chapters and his concluding chapters. None of these has been readily available to the general reader.

For contemporary comment and description Angle has relied principally on the Democratic *Chicago Times* and the Republican *Chicago Press and Tribune.* In this, his book is less comprehensive than that of Sparks, who quotes from dozens of newspapers.

Angle's most important contribution is his "Introduction" which sketches the political developments of the ten years preceding the Illinois campaign of 1858. The timeliness of this publication during the centennial year of the Debates is brought out in Angle's observation that

> The issues the two candidates discussed were national, not local: the extension of slavery to the national territories, the status of the Negro, and the power of the states and territories to regulate their "domestic institutions" – meaning slavery and the Negro – as they saw fit (p. v).

The first of these issues was settled for all time by the abolition of slavery, and, as Angle observes, for nearly a century it appeared that the other two issues had at least lost their power to divide the nation. However,

> Events since May, 1954, when the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its decision desegregating the public schools, have shown that the status of the Negro, and the right of the states to regulate that status, are questions as live today and as dangerously charged with emotion as they were when Lincoln and Douglas discussed them a hundred years ago (p. v).

Angle points out that Lincoln's attitude toward the Negro, whether or slave or free,

> was essentially the same as that of Douglas. Neither would place the Negro on an equality with the white man, either politically or socially. But Douglas made it quite clear that he would be satisfied, permanently, with the Negro's inferior status, while that status tortured Lincoln's conscience. Unlike Douglas, Lincoln looked forward to a time when slavery would no longer stain American democracy and when the Negro would at least have an equal chance to advance to the limit of his capabilities (p. xxix).

Angle gives us a brief but excellent explanation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its significance (pp. vi-ix). This was the act of Congress repealing the Missouri Compromise, which led Lincoln to resume an active role in politics. In an effort to help "Anti-Nebraska" candidates, Lincoln allowed his name to be used as a candidate for the Illinois House of Representatives. He was elected, and the election results gave the "Anti-Nebraskans" a majority on joint ballot in the legislature, which, the term of United States Senator James Shields expiring, would have the responsibility of electing a senator,

> and the Anti-Nebraskans could elect one of their own number if they could unite. Lincoln, by his efforts in the campaign, had earned the place of honor. To strengthen his position, he declined to accept his seat in the House and undertook by every means at his command to obtain pledges of support (p. xii).

Lincoln did not decline to accept his seat in order to "strengthen his position" as a candidate for the Senate, but rather he declined the seat in order to be eligible for election to the Senate by the legislature. The Constitution of Illinois, adopted in 1848, made any "person elected to the general assembly" ineligible for the United States Senate "during the term for which he shall have been elected . . . (Article III, section 7)." This point has been made recently by Donald W. Riddle in his *Congressman Abraham Lincoln* (Uni-

versity of Illinois, 1957), p. 250. Angle describes how Trumbull, with Lincoln's last-minute support, received the coveted Senate seat (p. xii). Judging from the language of the Constitution quoted above, it is possible that, despite his refusal to accept his legislative seat, Lincoln was not eligible for the Senate at that time.

Were the Republicans penalized in the 1858 campaign by an unfair or "gerrymandered" apportionment of legislative seats? Angle explains that the state "had not been reapportioned since 1852 [The date of the most recent legislative reapportionment was 1854. The law of 1852 was for congressional districts.] and the fast-growing northern section, heavily Republican, was under-represented in comparison with the central and southern parts. Besides, only half of the Senate seats were to be filled [twelve of twenty-five]. . . . Senators who had been elected in 1856 might or might not represent political opinion in 1858." (p. xxiv) In his speech at Springfield on July 17 (pp. 66-82), Lincoln explained the situation. No reapportionment law had been enacted following the state census of 1855, as provided by the Constitution. In 1857 the legislature, controlled by the Democrats, had passed a reapportionment bill which was "at least as unfair to us as the old one," and which Republican Governor William H. Bissell had vetoed (p. 67).

What was the effect of the campaign on Lincoln's political future? Before the 1858 campaign Lincoln was "hardly known outside of Illinois." But in the following year he accepted speaking engagements in five middle-western states, followed in February and March, 1860, by his Cooper Union address in New York City and by speeches in New England. Angle points out that

> When the Republican National Convention met in May, Lincoln was not a leading candidate. But when considerations of availability killed off Seward and Chase, the leading contenders, Lincoln was well enough known so that he could be chosen. Without the reputation he had made in the debates, no amount of political wirepulling could have brought about his selection (p. xxx).

Angle's scholarly edition of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates fills a long-felt need. Appearing in the centennial year, at a time when the problem of race relations has again reared its ugly head, it is well that this book enables Americans of all races to see the problem as it was faced by a distraught nation a century ago.

The present reviewer feels that the book would have had even greater value if the text of the debates had been more completely annotated and if a list of suggested additional readings had been included.

Charles H. Coleman
Eastern Illinois University

LOWDEN OF ILLINOIS: THE LIFE OF FRANK O. LOWDEN (2 vols.)

By William T. Hutchinson. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1957. Vol. I, *City and State,* Pp. 381. Vol. II, *Nation and Countryside,* Pp. 383-764. $15.)

The saga of the familiar American success story, variations on the "rags to riches" theme, has seldom been better personified than in the life and achievements of Frank Orren Lowden. In a comprehensive two-volume biography, Professor William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago has sketched for the first time the full stature of the man who has become a kind of legend in American political history.

Born on a Minnesota farm homestead in the critical year 1861, Lowden began his career as a true son of the soil and never really outgrew his deep and sincere affection for the rural way of life. The farm background, the struggle for an education, the decision to study law and move to the big city, a successful law career which made it possible for him to marry the boss's daughter (figuratively if not literally) are all a part of the Frank O. Lowden story. Success led him, as it did so many men of similar background during the progressive years, into a public service career with political achievement and national recognition as its accompaniment. However, the truly great prize which would have provided a fitting finale to this symphony of success escaped him, and it was his failure to win the presidency of the United States which represented the one great disappointment in a career which had known few frustrations.

His marriage (in 1896) to Florence Pullman, daughter of George M. Pullman of sleeping-car fame, was surely the most fortunate of a whole series of events in his early career. Not only did it inaugurate a mutually happy personal relationship of forty-one years, terminated only with the death of his wife in 1937, but it also guaranteed his financial security and hastened his unchallenged acceptance into the magic world of corporate consolidation and high finance. Personally satisfying as were both of these evidences of good fortune, each exacted a high price from Lowden as a public figure. Thus, he was never able completely to outgrow the alleged stigma of being George M. Pullman's son-in-law, and, despite his insistence upon and demonstration of honesty and efficiency as essentials to good government, his political opponents never ceased to include him among the "malefactors of great wealth."

Hutchinson's study not only fills a long-felt need for an adequate biography of Lowden, but it also

casts a great deal of light on the otherwise murky hue of Illinois politics in the progressive years. And if the Lowden account fails to illuminate all the dark corners of "prairie politics," this is only to recognize that the man himself did not know everything that went on behind the scenes. For example, much as we might like to know more about the Yates-Deneen deal which broke the long-deadlocked Republican gubernatorial convention of 1904, or the circumstances in the Illinois General Assembly which led to the election (and subsequent unseating) of Senator William E. Lorimer, or even the famous taxicab conversation between Lowden and General Leonard Wood on the afternoon of June 12, 1920, which failed to break their personal deadlock in the Republican Convention of that year, it seems doubtful, now that the Lowden story has been written, whether these details can ever be fully supplied.

With the wealth of the Lowden family papers at his disposal and with the full co-operation of the surviving members of the family the author rises to the challenge of his significant subject. Few state or national leaders of the present century have had better treatment. The University of Chicago Press has certainly spared no expense in its effort to produce a most attractive pair of volumes. The extensive footnotes are located in the "right place," the documentation is impressive (though there is no evidence that Dr. Hutchinson ever consulted the extensive Executive Department records in the Illinois State Archives — a strange oversight), and the only unhandy features are the absence of a formal bibliography, and the fact that the volumes are not indexed individually but rather in a combined index appearing at the end of the second volume. This is too fine a work to be ignored or forgotten, and the reviewer hopes that many more people will buy the books (and read them) than he is afraid will do so because of their formidable size and price tag.

Robert M. Sutton
University of Illinois

THE OTHER ILLINOIS

By Baker Brownell. (Duell, Sloan and Pearce: New York, 1958. Pp. 276. $4.50.)

Many treatises and published reports dealing with the Southern Illinois region have been issued. Some of them are scholarly and soundly scientific, on the geography, the economy, the industrial potential, the archeology and the resources. In addition, there is a wealth of promotional literature exploiting the scenic and

recreational attractions of the region. What has been greatly needed is a social interpretation by a scholar eminently qualified to give it. Fortunately this need has now been met by the fifteen essays written by Baker Brownell and published under the general title *The Other Illinois.*

Over a period of more than a quarter of a century, Brownell has explored the region of the south third of Illinois and has given a keenly perceptive scrutiny to its every nook and corner. His first visits were only occasional and were made in the midst of other important activities, including newspaper reporting, editorial writing, university teaching, the preparation of numerous reports and the writing of books. More recently he has made an intensive survey of the region in the service of Southern Illinois University. As a practical man of affairs, as well as a social philosopher, his discriminating judgments of Southern Illinois assume very great importance in regional analysis.

President Delyte W. Morris, builder of a new Southern Illinois University, had, as part of his far-visioned planning, the expansion of Southern's services to the area. His invitation to Brownell was extended after the latter's retirement from the Chair of Philosophy at Northwestern University and after his famous Montana Studies. Brownell became Distinguished Visiting Professor of Philosophy at Southern in December, 1952, his specific assignment being to organize an effective expanded program of area services, but with particular emphasis on community development as its most distinctive feature. Brownell accomplished this during his two years (1952-1954) as Director of Area Services.

The book, *The Other Illinois,* is playfully characterized by its author as "half social comment and half cock-eyed history." As to the second part of this ill-assorted half-and-half combination, it is not history at all. The author's sources — as they were properly intended to be — are folklore. But folklore is not history, however much it has enriched the history of literature by recording the origins of folk mores and the tenacious hold of traditions. Often what a people believe about themselves is more important than the verifiable facts of authentic history.

Folklore sometimes finds itself discredited by the work of retouch artists with a gift of creative imagination. That part of folklore which derives from the reminiscence of venerable patriarchs who, like a garrulous Ancient Mariner, like to spin a good story, suffers from a faulty memory. As Mark Twain would put it, he remembers most vividly what never happened. When this reminiscence passes down in successive

stages from second to third to fourth or fifth hand — or as far as you like — it ultimately reaches that stage of high-handed embellishment that makes it a whale of a good story for popular consumption. So the folk liars play havoc with legitimate folklore.

Author Brownell has a fondness for the discovery of types or symbols which he uses to portray the character of a whole region. Murder, riot, villainy, bloody violence on the one hand and shiftlessness, ignorance, stubborn unresponsiveness on the other, are made to appear predominant. Is a region justly condemned by a few of its worst exceptions represented as types or symbols?

Mike Fink, the notorious bully-boy of the river drift outlaws, is taken as the principal symbol whose demon spirit broods over all Southern Illinois even to this day. Mike was quite a boy! "Half horse and half cock-eyed alligator" as he is alleged to have called himself. Admittedly he was the "big-shot" — quite literally, if not originally — with his unerring marksmanship. But Mike "shot his wad" and died with his boots on. Brownell devotes three pages of his short book to this fascinating outlaw. Numerous other references to him also appear, such as: the "Ecology of Mike Fink," "Mike Fink Tradition," "Residual Mike Finks of Herrin, Marion, Carbondale, Murphysboro, and Elsewhere."

Another symbol of this Southern Illinois region mentioned by Brownell is the embittered, hard-bitten, silent, morose, unemployed, ignorant, irresponsible citizen, whose religion is an erratic outlet for his emotionalism. He is stubbornly proud of his ignorance and his independent individualism. Moreover, he just doesn't give a damn. In one sense he has a parallel in Ogden Nash's lama in far Tibet. Unaware that he has nothing, he doesn't miss it,

> And now this ignorant have-not
> Don't even know what he don't got.

A casual, hurried reading of *The Other Illinois* might give the false impression that Brownell regards this "benighted region" as the native habitat of Edgar Bergen's dumb dummy, Mortimer Snerd. Mortimer would be hard to find, but the witty Charley McCarthy is very much in evidence. The clever witticisms and wisecracks which give the reader of *The Other Illinois* many a chuckle — sometimes a hearty laugh — are credited to the newspaper fraternity of Southern Illinois. They out-Charley Charley. Bergen might replenish his gag book from this source. The fun-loving natives of this region especially love a good joke, even when they are made the butt of it. Brownell's statement, "A joke in this river country may be neighbor to death," is inexplicable. It simply

doesn't happen; unless, of course, the victim of the joke has a tough hide filled with firewater. In that case. the firewater, not the joke, would be the cause.

One could wish that so competent a judge of social problems as Baker Brownell might have a little more sympathetic understanding of the people in the region which he calls the back-doorstep of Illinois. The people, yes! A multitude of good, substantial, well-informed, law-abiding citizens. Large families related by intermarriage make for a high degree of family unity. The in-laws outnumber the outlaws by many hundred per cent. James Whitcomb Riley, himself an authority on Hoosier folkways and Hoosier patois, would call them home-folks:

> Home-folks — they're jis' the same as kin —
> All brung up, same as we have bin,
> Without no overpowerin' sense
> Of their oncommon consequence.

Many of the people take a pardonable pride in their genealogies, some dating back more than a century in this region alone. And these genealogical trees reveal no member hanging from one of its limbs (Mark Twain again).

Brownell has a mastery of the barbed phrase and epithet, which make his style highly scintillating, spicy, even to the extent of adding a pinch of literary tabasco sauce. And the reader enjoys it very much. Here and there appears an epigram or a rhetorical question with profound social implications. The corrosive acid of his phraseology is more than neutralized by qualifying clauses and sentences and the application of a healing lotion. We, the natives, needed to be told the truth about ourselves and our homeland, the unwelcome bad with the good. *The Other Illinois* was very much in order. Brownell sees more good than bad, and on the whole his message is one which "brings hope with it and forward looking thoughts."

E. G. Lentz
Southern Illinois University

AN END TO VALOR

By Philip Van Doren Stern. (Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, 1958. Pp. 418. $5.75.)

An End to Valor qualifies as one of the fine books in the current revival in Civil War literature. Philip Van Doren Stern has done a meticulous job in searching out bits of history and fitting them into just the right places to highlight his story.

The book details the closing days of the Civil War. Stern has

chosen the days from March 4, 1865 — Lincoln's second inauguration — to May 24, the second and final day of the grand review of Union veterans in Washington, D. C. An advance printing of the first chapter, on the inauguration, appeared in *American Heritage*. The chapter has a graphic account of Vice-President Andrew Johnson's illness, brandy drinking, and lengthy, incoherent address.

From there on there is one personal glimpse after another, each at its proper place in the military progression. "General" James Washington Singleton and Orville H. Browning of Quincy are given due attention as cotton speculators. The thread of John Wilkes Booth's presence and plotting is woven through the book.

"A Day at the White House" is one of the fine bits of documentary material included. It is paired with the Lincolns' visit to General U. S. Grant's headquarters at City Point. At the same time comes the Confederates' desperate attack on Fort Stedman. Then there is the story of Mrs. Lincoln's stormy behavior when another woman rode beside the President at City Point. This had important bearing on the Grants' absence from Ford's Theatre the night Lincoln was shot.

The meeting of Lincoln, Grant and Sherman to discuss surrender terms is reported, then the stirring military action at Dinwiddie Court House, and Five Forks, where General Phil Sheridan put General Charles Griffin in the place of General G. K. Warren, the hero of Little Round Top. There follows the victorious attack on the Petersburg defenses, leading directly to the fall of Richmond.

Lincoln's daring and moving visit to Richmond is told, and, just afterward, General Robert E. Lee's dreary retreat to Appomattox. There is a detailed account of the surrender proceedings in the parlor of the McLean house and the rush for pieces of furniture as souvenirs.

The Lincolns' return to Washington, Victory week, and the assassination are given full attention. The adverse effect of Lincoln's death is told in the description of General Joseph E. Johnston's surrender meetings with Sherman. This includes a colorful account of General John C. Breckinridge's gleaming eye at the sight of Sherman's bottle of liquor. Two final chapters, "An End to Valor" and "Beyond the End," mark the transition from battle valor to postwar cupidity.

Footnotes are at a minimum throughout the book and are used only where they contribute to the text. At the end there is a notable supplement of appendix, acknowledgments, source notes and bibliography, and index.

GILBERT G. TWISS
Chicago

HOMEWARD TO ZION — THE MORMON MIGRATION FROM SCANDINAVIA

By William Mulder. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1957. Pp. 354. $7.50.)

Dr. Mulder, in this most stimulating account of a segment of Scandinavian emigration, displays a combination of fine literary skill and research talent. He dips into hundreds of personal diaries, journals and many previously untapped sources to lay open the lives of hardy pioneers — subjects of Mormon proselyting, migration and colonization.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century more than 30,000 converts, convinced that they were leaving "Babylon" and a time-worn religious establishment, endured privation and persecution to push westward to new opportunity and challenge. The author points out that "the gathering, not polygamy, was Mormonism's oldest and most influential doctrine." This spirit of gathering was the key catalyst that spurred the Scandinavian migrations to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. This doctrine of "gathering" coupled with the "building of the kingdom," in fact, differentiates the movements of the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians under the influence of Mormonism, from those of their migrating compatriots.

Dr. Mulder allows these pioneers the happy faculty of being human, but tempered by the spirit of God and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He lets his reader see them as they are — in their weaknesses and in their strengths. He deftly portrays the demands and difficulties of proselyting for an unpopular religion in Scandinavia as early as 1850 and the subsequent orderly fashion in which the converts were shepherded to their new homes in the "tops of the mountains" in fulfillment of Biblical prophecy. Many sacrifices were made in order to emigrate and the pooling of efforts became a virtual consumer co-operative. His analysis of the loss of converts through apostasy and disaffection and the consequent backwash of disgruntled believers, principally to the Midwest and their country of origin, is most interesting.

More important, however, is the demonstration that this migration brought to Zion many of the stanch pillars of faith, people who virtually transplanted a Scandinavian culture to a new environment, men who sired a progeny and women who nurtured it, to the end that the desert was conquered and made to blossom — men like Canute Peterson and Peter Forsgren, early converts to the "building of the Kingdom," subjects of the Prologue and Epilogue of this volume.

The author is strong on statistics which are backed by reliable sources. His copious footnoting and references occupy forty-four pages, roughly one-eighth of the book. His research covers libraries in Europe as well as America. Much of the footnoting bears significant importance and might well have been embodied in the running account. The format of the book is attractive. It is well bound and both the cover and jacket carry a view of Salt Lake City in 1853, the year after the first Scandinavian converts arrived. Photographs, conspicuously absent, could have been utilized to advantage.

Dr. Mulder's word picture of one of the great epics of old to new world migration will live to stimulate many more highly detailed studies of this same movement.

N. G. Morgan, Sr.
Virgil V. Peterson
Salt Lake City, Utah

THE WAR OF 1812 IN THE OLD NORTHWEST
By Alec R. Gilpin (Michigan State University Press: East Lansing, Michigan, 1958. Pp. 286. $6.50.)

In what is apparently an expanded doctoral dissertation, Dr. Gilpin of the History of Civilization department of Michigan State University has written an exhaustively detailed history of military events in the Old Northwest between the Battle of Tippecanoe and the close of the War of 1812. Three chapters deal with the Indian conflicts that preceded the declaration of hostilities and with the beginning of the war, three more with the disastrous Hull campaign around Detroit, another three with the recruiting of the new army under Harrison and the minor engagements that followed, two with the Battle of the Thames and its background, and two others with the minor actions that ended the struggle. All are based on extensive research not only in published documents but in the National Archives, the Public Archives of Canada and other manuscript depositories.

Dr. Gilpin's interest is in military history, and on this he focuses his attention; the complex problem of the war's origin in the Old Northwest is dismissed in a paragraph. This narrow devotion has allowed him to fill in a number of details concerning the important engagements fought in the Great Lakes country, and particularly to expand our knowledge concerning the recruitment of soldiers and the relationship between field commanders and their Washington superiors. The principal story, as long understood by historians, remains unchanged by

his efforts. General Hull emerges in a more favorable light than he was known to contemporaries and many later writers, while Harrison is properly depicted in a less laudatory way than he was viewed by his own generation. These evaluations reflect the strict objectivity with which Dr. Gilpin handles his materials.

The War of 1812 in the Illinois country receives but scant attention, with a page and a half devoted to the Fort Dearborn Massacre, and scattered references to minor engagements or military movements in the latter years of the war.

This is a book that will interest the specialist in frontier or military history but attract few readers beyond that select group. Dr. Gilpin's style is clear but pedestrian, while his attention to infinite detail clogs his pages with an array of facts that will discourage all but the most devoted students.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON
Northwestern University

THE SAC AND FOX INDIANS

By William T. Hagan. (*The Civilization of the American Indian Series,* Vol. 48. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, Oklahoma, 1958. Pp. 287. $5.00.)

In 1956 Stanley Pargellis of Newberry Library challenged ethnologists and historians to join forces in writing Indian history. Before that time, he said, ethnologists and archaeologists had been concerned too exclusively with the study of artifacts and the minutiae of primitive society, while historians, by and large, had ignored the studies of their ethnological colleagues. Without interaction between the history scholars and the ethnologists, Pargellis holds, Indian history and its interpretation will remain unsatisfactory.

In this reviewer's opinion, *The Sac and Fox Indians,* by William T. Hagan, fails to meet Pargellis' challenge not only in some interpretations of Indian motivations and customs but also in its standards of historical scholarship. The volume presents a comprehensive history of the Sac and Fox from 1804 to the present, with almost one-fifth of the book devoted to the Black Hawk War, the most dramatic event in that history, which is of special interest to Illinoisans. Those who have read Hagan's earlier articles and monographs need not be told of his ability to write a compelling narrative in a lively literary style. But the sources for so vast a subject as the history of an Indian tribe cannot easily be mined, and Hagan, unfortunately, has barely stripped the surface. As a result, he fre-

quently accepts one or two documents at face value when only a little further search and study would reveal that, as usual, the real truth is not quite so simple.

For example, he states flatly that Sac and Fox Agent Thomas Forsyth was removed because he refused to live the year around at the Rock Island Agency and was too often absent from his post. Though his superior did so complain, personal antipathies and political pressures also contributed to Forsyth's removal, and these circumstances, if known to Hagan, are not mentioned. This omission alone is not particularly serious, but Hagan then goes on to imply, incorrectly, that a Fox subagent was appointed to live at the Galena lead mines because of Forsyth's dereliction. Instead, the appointment of a Fox agent for the mining area was recommended by Forsyth himself in 1821, and concurred in by Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Clark. The two men pointed out that an agent resident at the mines could help prevent the sale of liquor to the Indians and could also "use his influence in preventing the opposition which is made by the Foxes, Socks & Winnibagoes to our Citizens working the Several rich & valuable Lead Mines east of that River, which belong to the United States."

In discussing the lease of these lead mines, Hagan says that the northwestern Illinois and southern Wisconsin mining country was in the area ceded to the United States by the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa in 1816; exactly the reverse was true. The mining country was in the area ceded by the Sac and Fox in 1804, and, under the terms of the cession treaty, the tribes were entitled to occupy the ceded land so long as it remained the property of the United States. But in 1816 the government retroceded a part of the land to the Potawatomi, reserving, however, "such tracts on or near to the Ouisconsing and Mississippi rivers, as the president of the United States may think proper . . . *Provided,* That such other tracts shall not in the whole exceed the quantity that would be contained in five leagues square." Although the Potawatomi did claim much of the land south and east of the Rock River that had been included in the 1804 Sac cession, they had never occupied or claimed the lands near the mouth of the Rock or bordering the Mississippi. The 1816 "relinquishment" of that land to them was partial payment for a cession of Potawatomi land in the Chicago area. It was on the "reservations" created by the Potawatomi Treaty of 1816 that the lead mine leases were granted. When, in 1829, the government bought back its own 1816 cession, the Potawatomi were awarded $16,000 a year "forever." For an area over twice as large (that in-

cluded this tract), the Sac and Fox had been paid only $1,000 a year forever. This apparent discrimination against them was one of the tribe's bitterest complaints against the United States, and one which is not even mentioned by Hagan.

One of the commonest dangers facing writers of Indian history is that of sentimentality. Hagan can never be accused of this fault. In fact, the author's compression of so much history into such a little space often results in a simple chronicling of Sac and Fox conflicts with inadequate explanations of the causes of those difficulties from either the white man's or the Indian's point of view.

For example, Hagan implies that a Sac war party fought the Battle of the Sink Hole on May 24, 1815, although Black Hawk, the party's leader, knew that war between the United States and Great Britain had ended. As a matter of fact, the commanding officer at Prairie du Chien had received word from the Americans that the war was over, but he did not consider this news official and consequently did not instruct Black Hawk and the other Rock River Indians then (April 18) at Prairie du Chien to "bury the hatchet." As one British officer explained, the Indians were not believed to have committed a single act of hostility "since the Peace was announced by Captain Bulger on the 22nd of May, at the Prairie du Chien. That officer made every exertion to recall the war-party that attacked the Americans on the 24th of May . . . but it was too late. They could not be overtaken. This affair . . . is the latest act of hostility which occurred, and I pledge my word . . . that the Indians engaged in it knew nothing of the Peace, except from American reports, which they imagined were purposely circulated to deceive them." In his discussion of these events, Hagan evidently relies not on the contemporary letters of the Prairie du Chien commandant Andrew H. Bulger but on the much less reliable secondary account written later for publication by Alfred E. Bulger.

As an example of the kind of hasty interpretation that abounds in the book, consider Hagan's statement that the 1832 treaty commissioners "demonstrated wisdom" in appointing Keokuk principal chief of the Sac and Fox, a hereditary position to which he was not entitled. In view of the fact that many of the later tribal dissensions were a direct result of this appointment, it is difficult to see how it can be judged "wise." Keokuk's skill could just as well have been used, as it had been for years, as representative and spokesman for the tribal council.

The confusing usage of the term "war chief," both by present-day and early nineteenth-century writers, has led Hagan to overempha-

size Black Hawk's importance in the Sac tribe. At the time of the War of 1812, British officers referred to Black Hawk as "principal war chief of the Sauks," and in 1821 Thomas Forsyth identified him and Keokuk as "two principal war chiefs." Although Black Hawk had been head of the Sac warriors in the War of 1812, his position in the tribe was not comparable to Keokuk's, for the latter not only was the head of one of the two tribal social divisions or moieties (a post also entitled "war chief") but was speaker for the tribal council as well. Black Hawk did serve as leader of one of the six or seven hunting parties or bands into which the tribe separated each fall, but there was no major tribal cleavage into "Black Hawk's (or the British) band" and "Keokuk's band" until 1828, and even then Black Hawk's band was a fluctuating group, with estimates of size varying from one-sixth to one-third of the whole Sac and Fox population.

Though the Winnebago Prophet was a suspect reporter, he was correct in the spring of 1832 when he said that the principal chiefs of Black Hawk's band had recently died. Consequently, the band had no really effective leadership, and, also, no clearly defined plan of action when it returned to Illinois in 1832, other than the determination not to give up the Rock River country. Hagan's interpretation of the band's return as the first step in an offensive war against the United States is misleading and oversimplified. If Black Hawk ever did intend to "rescue his village" by driving the settlers from the Rock River village or striking the "Long Knives," any such plan was immediately changed after he crossed the Mississippi on April 5, 1832. Meeting Black Hawk below the mouth of the Rock, the Prophet told him that so long as the Indians did not strike the first blow, force would not be used to remove them, and this was the policy Black Hawk adopted. The immediate problem of the band was to settle the women and children and put in crops. They proceeded up Rock River to Prophetstown, where they had been invited to live. Despite the alarming and contradictory reports of what Black Hawk and his band *intended* to do, they must be judged by what they actually did do, and the band committed no hostile action until after May 14, when a battalion of Illinois volunteers attacked Black Hawk's peace emissaries.

Hagan's account of events between April 5 and May 14, 1832, is one of the weakest parts of the book. His general narrative of the war, like his account of the earlier Sac and Fox history, is marred by the number of factual errors. Many of these are minor, but their cumulative effect is irreparably damaging. To name a few:

Black Hawk's band crossed the Mississippi at the Upper Yellow Banks, not at Oquawka or Yellow Banks, which was twenty miles downstream (page 149). John Reynolds, not Ninian Edwards, was the governor Atkinson addressed on April 27, 1832 (page 151). Although General Atkinson had sent spies and messengers to Black Hawk's band to learn their plans, he had not, before April 24, attempted to open communications with Black Hawk (page 149). Indeed, the General had declared earlier that he would ignore the band until it recrossed the Mississippi. Neither were his official messengers, two friendly Sac Indians, abused and threatened (two earlier messengers sent by the Indian agent had been treated "with suspicion" and "threatened," but not Atkinson's official messengers). The message Hagan says these Indians brought back is not the message they did bring. The day after their return, Winnebago Subagent Henry Gratiot arrived at Rock Island from Prophetstown, and he did bring a defiant, belligerent message, in which Black Hawk said that if General Atkinson sent his officers to the band, he would fight them. As one member of the band said later: "When General Atkinson's paper reached us, directing us to go back and cross the Mississippi . . . 'the blind' [White Crow, a principal Winnebago who accompanied Gratiot to Prophetstown] with about twenty men came to us and turned the mind of all of us who wanted to come back according to the paper. He said to us — it is cloudy with you now, but I have come to draw you where all will be clear and happy for you." Some of the Winnebago from the upper Rock villages who had come to Prophetstown with Gratiot did not accompany him farther, and, after White Crow left, it was these men (and not members of the Prophet's band) who discouraged Black Hawk from going on up the river (page 152).

The volunteers did not march to Dixon's Ferry before joining Atkinson near the mouth of the Rock. Instead, they marched there directly from Oquawka (page 151). The Illinois volunteers were taken into United States service on May 8, not May 1 (page 153). Whiteside's Brigade arrived at Dixon's Ferry on May 12, not May 14 (page 156). The Indian Creek massacre took place May 21, not May 20, and the Hall girls taken captive at that time were turned over to white authorities on June 1, not June 3 (page 161). The volunteer army organized in June on the Illinois River included three brigades (each with a spy battalion) and one odd spy company, instead of three brigades and only one spy battalion and one spy company (page 168). In addition, numerous independent battalions and regiments were in service at this

time. The entire account of the attacks on the Apple River fort (June 24) and Kellogg's Grove (June 25) is of little value since it is based on secondary sources, whose details not only are vague but are further confounded by Hagan himself (pages 169-70). Although several soldiers reported that a member of Black Hawk's band attempted to surrender after the Battle of Wisconsin Heights, the man making the surrender offer could not have been Neapope, as Hagan says, for Neapope deserted the band the morning preceding the battle (page 181).

Few would argue with Hagan's conclusion that the "depressing" history of the Sac and Fox after the Black Hawk War continued to be marked by "confused, often angry, and always perplexing Indian-American relations." While the tribe lived in Iowa, it was "remarkable," he states, "that a few whites did not lose their lives, as the Indians certainly had some legitimate complaints." It is not surprising, therefore, that strong tribal resistance faced agents and missionaries who attempted to "civilize" the pagan Indians by turning them into Christian farmers. The government had more success, however, in securing land cessions, and by 1846, the Sac and Fox had again been removed, from Iowa to Kansas. Except for splinter groups which remained in Kansas, Iowa, and Nebraska, the principal part of the tribe was moved finally in 1869 and 1870 to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. By 1958, Hagan concludes, "the goal of complete acculturation of the Oklahoma Sacs and Foxes . . . [was] finally in sight, [but] there is little in the record of a century and a half of United States dealings with these Indians to inspire pride in an American."

Despite the soundness of Hagan's general conclusions, however, the book has so many inadequate interpretations and errors of fact that it cannot, in good faith, be recommended as reliable history.

ELLEN WHITNEY

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

The papers of Nathaniel P. Banks at the State Historical Library have been enlarged recently by the addition of 116 letters. Mostly written to him, they date from the years of Banks's political career before and after the Civil War. The Massachusetts governor, congressman and general is already represented here by a group of approximately 2,000 manuscript items from the period 1840-1887.

A number of Civil War diaries and other manuscripts have been added to the Historical Library's collections this spring. The diary of Sergeant Price F. Kellogg of the 108th Illinois Infantry, starting in late August, 1862, and that of Corporal Thomas Truman Smith of the 124th Pennsylvania Infantry for November, 1862 tell something of camp and combat as they saw it. The latter diary was a gift of Mrs. Helen Young Vetter of Washington, D.C. Dr. Charles R. Baker of Evanston has given a transcript of the memoirs of Francis R. Baker of the 78th Ohio Infantry for November, 1861 through January, 1865. Other additions include five letters from Tennessee by Captain Anson Patterson of the 100th Illinois Infantry (December 28, 1862-July 14, 1863), a gift of Mrs. Letah E. Buten of Highland Park, Michigan; transcripts of several letters from John Ellington Hyde of the 156th Illinois Infantry written in early 1865, given by Miss Winifred M. Pomeroy of Washington, D.C., in a group with some early Illinois family letters; and a group of items relating to Seaman Thomas J. Spencer of the gunboat *General Sherman,* given by Miss Margaret Spencer of Chicago Heights, Illinois.

The first and still the most important historian of the Donner party's tragic expedition from Springfield, Illinois, to California in 1846 was a newspaper editor of Truckee, California, a small village on the eastern edge of that state and near the site of the party's main winter camp. C. F. McGlashen's *History of the Donner Party* was first published in Truckee in 1879 in an edition that quickly sold out and is today quite rare. The Historical Library has recently acquired a copy of this first edition, and owns the fourth (1881), eighth (1907) and eleventh (1918) editions as well as a 1940 reprint. Eventually the Library hopes to have copies of every edition of this classic.

News and Comment

Spring Tour — Two Days "Out of This World"

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS hospitality, perfect weather, and a series of interesting and significant programs made May 24 and 25 two days that were "out of this mid-twentieth-century world" for approximately two hundred members of the Illinois State Historical Society who attended the annual Spring Tour at Cairo.

The Cairo Historical Association and its co-operating organizations provided their guests with so many nineteenth-century places to visit and sights to see that they relaxed and even forgot radio and television. The highlight of two days of greeting old friends and meeting new ones was a nearly two-hour trip Sunday morning aboard the *S. S. Delta Queen,* "last of the luxury river steamers" — the favorite travel method of the nineteenth century.

With Cairo's location at the extreme southern point of the state making it a long day's travel from the northern sections, many of the members arrived on Friday night. Twenty or more of these were entertained that evening at the home of Miss Virginia Herbert, past president and an active member of the Cairo Historical Association. There they were given a preview of the next two days in the form of a tour of a post-Civil-War mansion furnished in keeping with the period.

Following registration Saturday morning at the Hotel Cairo headquarters the visitors met at the Masonic Hall, across the street north of the hotel, where they were welcomed to Cairo by Mayor Paul S. Baur, M.D.

Director Charles Van Ravenswaay of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis was the speaker at this opening session. His points on "The Significance of Local History" were deftly made by a humorous approach to the subject. He first became interested in history, he said, by "soaking it up" into his subconscious as a boy in Boonville, Missouri. Among the "characters" he knew there were Uncle Johnny Whistletrigger and the woman who defeated the Katy railroad by greasing the tracks on a grade with lard from a pig killed by a train. The speaker urged that local historical societies plan long-range programs in co-operation with their state groups and warned them against "becoming social" or "let-

ting the bores take over."

At the luncheon which followed, John W. Allen, past president of the State Society, was the speaker. After telling of "Divided Loyalties in Southern Illinois Before the Civil War," he carried the subject on to the war period and cited the activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle and proslavery meetings, and compared enlistment with desertion figures.

All available traffic officers were enlisted to expedite the fifty-mile round trip of the Saturday afternoon tour. Alexander County Sheriff Carl Clutts headed the caravan of three buses and eleven cars and city, auxiliary and state police routed traffic at the intersections. The tour went north through the swamp known at Future City, turning west on Route 3 past the cotton gin and airport and on through Klondike, Cache and Olive Branch to Thebes on the Mississippi River. There the first stop was made at the 112-year-old courthouse high on the bluff overlooking the river. This limestone, Greek Revival building was the Alexander County capitol from 1845 to 1859. The entrance to the barn-like second floor was on the ground level at the rear and the visitors had to climb down a stony path to the first floor where they saw the two dungeons dug back into the hill — one without windows and with a doorway through a three-foot stone wall as the only entrance. From the courthouse-jail the caravan proceeded down the bluff to Riverside Park where the group was served refreshments of punch and cookies by the Thebes Men's and Women's clubs as they watched the towboats go by.

On the return trip to Cairo the procession turned off Route 3 down a lane lined with blooming multiflora roses to the Horseshoe Lake State Game Preserve where it stopped at the edge of the lake at the site of the largest stand of cypress in the state.

Back in Cairo through the floodgate — which requires a railroad locomotive to raise or lower — the tourists had many of the city's interesting sights pointed out to them, including the Elmwood Housing Project, the proposed location of Presidents' Square, St. Mary's Hospital, and the old customhouse — now the city's youth center, called Oriac (Cairo spelled backwards). A final stop before the end of the trip was made at the A. B. Safford Memorial Library with its crystal chandelier from the Cairo Opera House, Andrew Jackson desk and collection of Civil War memorabilia.

Glen D. Palmer, Illinois State Director of Conservation, was the speaker at the annual Spring Banquet Saturday night. The aim of his department, he said in his talk on "Conservation in Southern Illinois," is to make that section of the state the "playground of the

nation." He told of the development of the world's largest flock of Canada geese in the Horseshoe Lake area, and of the historical restorations at the Pierre Menard house at Kaskaskia and the Old Shawneetown bank. Most interesting to his local listeners was his statement that his department is in favor of establishing a 120-acre Ft. Defiance park as a Civil War memorial at Cairo Point where the Ohio and Mississippi rivers meet. Following his talk Merrill C. Currier of radio station WKRO explained the significance of the projected park with enlarged aerial photographs and drawings. The Historical Society membership went on record as supporting the proposal and later the Board of Directors made the endorsement official.

Although high water on the Ohio River had threatened to delay the arrival of the *S. S. Delta Queen* Sunday morning, Captain Paul H. Underwood succeeded in tying up at the Eighth Street levee steps at a few minutes after 10 A.M. When his cruise passengers had disembarked for their Cairo visit the Historical Society group thronged down the gangplank. The 213 visitors explored every nook of the vessel from the big bell at the bow to the huge paddle wheel at the sterm. They preferred deck chairs to the luxuries of the lounge, and the souvenir shop did a rushing business. The route taken was down the Ohio, beneath the Cairo - Wickliffe bridge, past Cairo Point on down the Mississippi for several miles and return — the timing was such that the gangplank touched down at the levee exactly at noon.

Alexander Summers of Mattoon, president of the State Historical Society, presided at the Sunday luncheon (Southern catfish "and all the trimmings," which included hush-puppies and cole slaw), as he had at the Saturday luncheon and banquet. Attendance of 160 or more on these occasions taxed the capacity of the Hotel Cairo's Magnolia Room. Since there was no program scheduled for the Sunday luncheon President Summers took the opportunity to introduce and thank the members of the local committee: Mrs. Harry L. Bolen, Mrs. Edward Detjen, Mrs. Leslie Roche, Virginia Herbert, Victor Honey and Harry Weeks.

This committee still had work to do, however, and after the luncheon had cars triple parked in front of the hotel — and again with the co-operation of the traffic police — ready to take their guests out to Magnolia Manor, the museum of the Cairo Historical Association, for the afternoon program. There they were received by Cairo's 1958 Magnolia Queen, Roseanna Simmons, and two members of her court, and were given guided tours of the mansion by members of the Historical Association costumed in nineteenth-century dresses. The an-

nual Magnolia Festival Maypole Dance was given on the south lawn of the mansion twice during the afternoon. The dancers were eighteen pupils from the first four grades of the Douglas School clad in pastel-colored suits and dresses. They went through their dance to the tape-recorded tunes of a piano that sounded much like an old-time music box. Following the dance the guests were served punch, cookies and mints — and thus ended the best attended Spring Tour ever held by the Illinois State Historical Society.

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Spring Tour Notes: Those hardy Alpinists who climbed to the tower of Magnolia Manor were rewarded by a view of blooming magnolias in the tops of the trees surrounding it. Cairo's annual Magnolia Festival is scheduled for the third week in May but this year the blossoming was delayed by the severe winter and cool spring. In fact, a number of the city's trees were killed and others were badly damaged. Even though the magnolia blossoms were missed there were roses, peonies and iris in bloom in town and in the country there were multiflora roses and blackberries blooming.

The most surprised person in the Magnolia Room at the Saturday luncheon was Mrs. Bess Dunn of Waukegan when President Summers announced that she had been elected an Honorary Life Member of the State Society by the Board of Directors. Mrs. Dunn has been a member for more than fifty years and has also been active in Lake County historical groups. A footnote to this announcement was one that ten-year-old Joellen Menteer of Carbondale had become a Life Member with the payment of the necessary fee by her grandfather, Past President John W. Allen.

The weatherman co-operated with Secretary-Treasurer Clyde C. Walton of the State Society and the arrangements committee by providing slightly overcast skies so that the temperature did not go uncomfortably high during the Tour. There were thunder showers Saturday night but the ground was dry the next morning.

The giant clock on the tower of St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church across the street from the Hotel Cairo helped keep the meetings on schedule. To many its bells were quarter-hourly reminders of earlier days in their home towns.

A crisis developed among the photographers aboard the *Delta Queen* when Tom Felt of the Historical Library staff ran out of film and Director Gil Twiss had his flash bulb battery go dead.

Ten members of the Springfield Civil War Round Table had lunch at the Hotel Cairo Saturday and greeted friends on the Historical Society Tour. They were on a tour of their own to the Ft. Henry and Ft. Donelson battlefields.

The Cairo Evening Citizen carried a front page story on the Historical Society meeting, plus a four-column illustrated feature by Guyla Moreland, in its Friday issues. On Saturday there was a detailed news story and a full-page illustrated feature by Mrs. Moreland. The *Citizen* does not publish on Sundays but on Monday it had a four-column picture on the front page and four more pictures and a two-column story on the back page.

The picture on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* was made by W. E. Aydt of Cairo just as the Historical Society group was about to board the *S. S. Delta Queen* from the Ohio River levee on Sunday morning. The *Queen,* with air-conditioned accommodations for 198 guests, serves exclusively as a passenger cruise ship, and thus may be called the last of the luxury river steamers. She is operated by Greene Line Steamers, Inc., of Cincinnati, on the Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi rivers.

The 1,618-ton stern-wheeler is 285 feet long, 58 feet wide, and draws seven feet of water. She carries a crew of around seventy, and her 26-ton paddle wheel, which is 26 feet in diameter, gives her a cruising speed of eight miles an hour.

The *Delta Queen* was fabricated in 1925 at a shipyard on the River Clyde in Scotland — with the exception of her triple-galvanized hull, which was built by the Krupp Works in Germany. The parts were shipped to Stockton, California, where she was assembled and put into service on the Sacramento River carrying freight and passengers between San Francisco and Sacramento. During World War II she was taken over by the U. S. Navy and used as a transport in San Francisco Bay. After the war she was purchased by the Greene Line which had her boarded up and towed by ocean-going tug from San Francisco, through the Panama Canal to New Orleans, where she was put back in running order. From New Orleans she steamed up to Pittsburgh where she was reconditioned for her present-day assignment.

Thomas Honored by Springfield C.W.R.T.

A memorial alcove honoring Benjamin P. Thomas was dedicated at Illinois College, Jacksonville, with an informal ceremony on Saturday, June 7. This "Benjamin P. Thomas Memorial Civil War Collection" was sponsored by the Springfield Civil War Round Table and occupies the west end of the reading room of the Tanner Memorial Library. Bruce Catton, twice winner of the Pulitzer Prize

— for *A Stillness at Appomattox* and *This Hallowed Ground* — and editor of *American Heritage* magazine, was the speaker at the dedication.

Benjamin P. Thomas, author and Lincoln authority, was one of the founders and first president of the Springfield Round Table and also a trustee of Illinois College. After his death in 1956 members of the Round Table set up a committee, composed of O. J. Keller, Robert B. Oxtoby and Clyde C. Walton, to solicit a fund and carry through the establishment of the memorial. This fund had reached $5,000 by the dedication date. In addition to the purchase of books the fund provided the furnishings for the alcove, consisting of low counter-bookcases to set it off from the main reading room, half a dozen green leather chairs and davenport, plus several small tables and lamps. On one end of the divider there was a small case containing a portrait of Mr. Thomas beside copies of his books: *Abraham Lincoln, a Biography; Lincoln 1847-1853; Lincoln's New Salem; Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and His Biographers; Russo-American Relations, 1815-1867; Theodore Weld, Crusader for Freedom; Three Years with Grant, as Recalled by War Correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader;* and *Sangamo, a History of Fifty Years,* plus a number of articles published as pamphlets. Above these books a small brass plate bears this inscription: "In memory of Benjamin Platt Thomas, historian, author, scholar, honored by Illinois College with its L. H. D. degree and a devoted member of its board of trustees, this collection of Civil War books has been presented by his friends under the leadership of the Springfield Round Table, 1958."

Preceding the dedication a luncheon, attended by Mrs. Thomas and other members of the author's family, contributors to the fund, the speaker, and members of the Round Table and their wives — approximately sixty people in all — was held at the Dunlap Hotel. Others attending the dedication brought the number at the library to about two hundred, which filled the reading room.

Following the invocation by the Rev. Richard Paul Graebel of the First Presbyterian Church, Springfield, President L. Vernon Caine told of the College's plans for the collection. Dr. Catton was introduced by O. J. Keller. The speaker's subject was the "Why" of the Civil War, to which the answer of the knowing and the unknowing alike is, "Because." He cited some of the "ifs" of the "inevitable conflict" and said that even though its effects are still felt in the life of America no one can be certain of what the final meaning was. This, he added, leads to a continuing study of — or "brood-

ing over," as he called it — this one period of tragedy in the "American success story." His remarks were tape-recorded by Springfield radio station WTAX and were broadcast later that evening. The afternoon was closed with a reception for Dr. Catton at the home of President and Mrs. Caine.

Sterling Girl Wins Top Student Historian Honors

Carole Benson, a student historian of Sterling, who last year won the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award, returned to Springfield on May 9 to receive the 1958 Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award. Thus she became the first recipient of two major awards since the Illinois Student Historian program was started, and if such a title existed, she could claim to be the "Champion Student Historian" of the state.

Carole is a fifteen - year - old freshman at Sterling Township High School and the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Gunnar Benson, 1513 Fourth Avenue, Sterling. The $100 Pratt Award is given each year for the best article about Abraham Lincoln published in the February issue of *Illinois History* magazine. Carole's winning effort was titled "A Day with Lincoln During the 1856 Campaign," and concerned his visit to her home town in May of that year.

Governor William G. Stratton, earlier in the program that was held in the Illinois Building auditorium on the State Fairgrounds, had presented Student Historian of the Year certificate awards to teen-age historians from seventeen schools in sixteen communities throughout the state. All of the awards are based on the quality of articles written by the students and published during the school year in *Illinois History,* which is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society and printed at the Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale.

The award winners were selected by a panel of judges consisting of Frederic Babcock, editor of the *Chicago Tribune Books* magazine; G. B. Gordon, news director of TV station WICS, Springfield; Dr. J. B. Johnson, superintendent of Alton schools; Mrs. Mary Merryfield, Chicago radio commentator; State Representative Paul Simon, editor of the *Troy Tribune;* Vernon Sternberg, director of the Southern Illinois University Press; Alexander Summers of Mattoon, president of the Illinois State Historical Society; Illinois State Historian Clyde C. Walton; and Mrs. Phyllis E. Connolly, director of the Student Historian program and editor of *Illinois History.*

In addition to the $100 Pratt Award there were four other

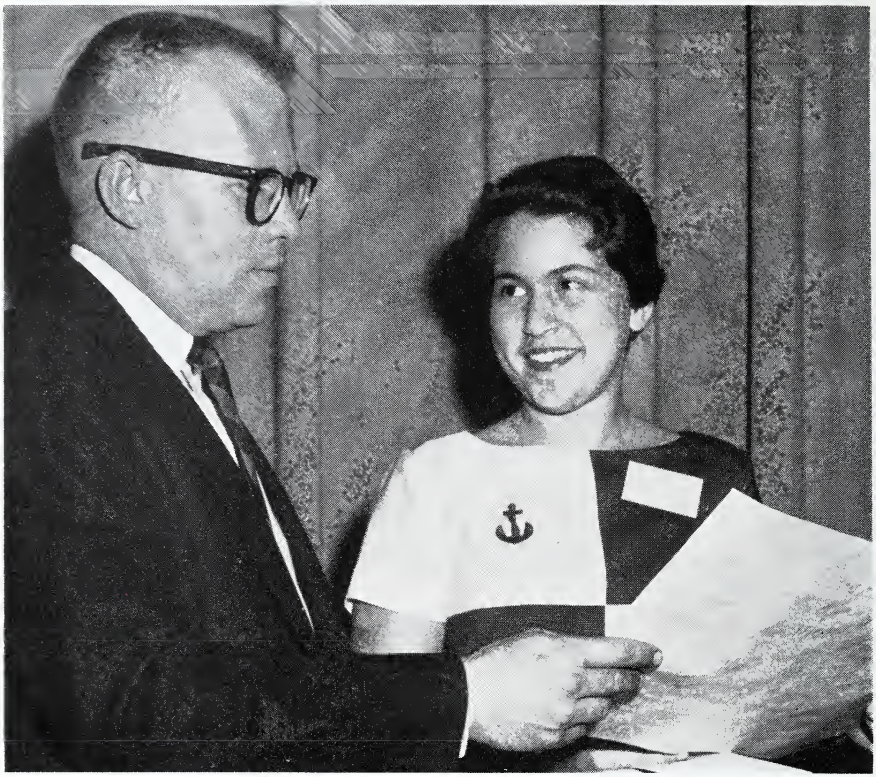
Governor William G. Stratton presents Student Historian awards the Carole Benson and Robert Wilson of Sterling. Later Carole received the $100 Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award.

Alexander Summers, of Mattoon, left, president of the State Historical Society, presents the John H. Hauberg Award for the best non-Lincoln article to Joel Robert Harris of Rock Island.

Walter E. McBride, past president of the Rotary Club of Rock Island, and Mrs. LaVere H. Ross of Aurora admire the parchment certificate she received as Illinois' History Teacher of the Year.

monetary prizes given at the ceremony. The Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc., which sponsors the award in honor of Harry E. Pratt, late Lincoln authority, author and State Historian, also gave a special $25 award to Pam Kohn, a fourteen-year-old ninth-grade student at Benjamin Franklin Junior High School, Aurora, for her twelve-line poem titled "Meditation in Memory of Lincoln." Presentation of these awards was made by Richard S. Hagen of Galena, secretary-treasurer of the organization.

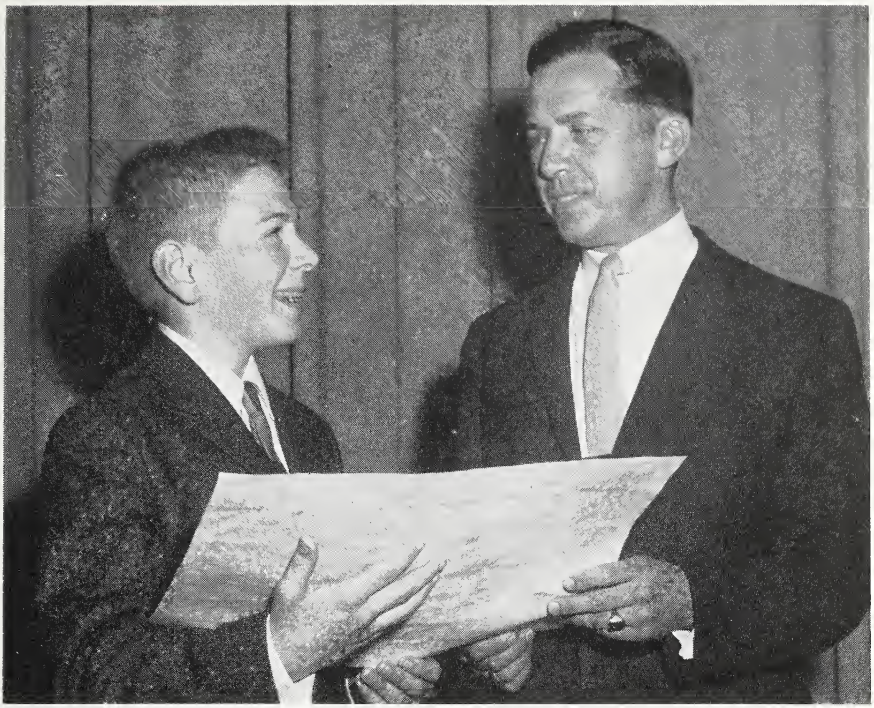
Winner of the $25 John H. Hauberg Award for the best non-Lincoln article published during the year was Joel Robert Harris, a fifteen-year-old ninth-grade student at Washington Junior High School, Rock Island. His article, which appeared in the January issue, was about Poet Vachel Lindsay and was titled "What's a Poet Good For?" The judges' voting was so close for this award,



A special poetry award was given to Pam Kohn of Aurora by Richard S. Hagen, secretary-treasurer of the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc.

however, that its sponsor, the Illinois State Historical Society, decided to give a second-place money prize of $15 as well. The winner of this award was John F. Evans, a thirteen-year-old seventh-grade student at Harvard School for Boys, Chicago. He wrote about Carl Sandburg as "A Master of Poetry and Prose," and his article also appeared in the January issue. These awards were presented by Alexander Summers, president of the State Historical Society.

A third Hauberg Award of $25, sponsored by the Rotary Club of Rock Island, went to the teacher who had done most during the year to promote the Student Historian movement. It was presented by Walter E. McBride, past president of the Rotary Club, to Mrs. LaVere H. Ross of Aurora. Mrs. Ross teaches English in the Benjamin Franklin Junior High School and is sponsor of the school's Student Historian Club. More articles from students in her



PHOTOS BY BILL CALVIN AND WARD JOHNSON, STATE PHOTOGRAPHERS

John F. Evans of the Harvard School for Boys, Chicago, thanks President Alexander Summers of the Historical Society for his second place certificate.

school were published during the year than from any other school in the state. This was the third year of the John H. Hauberg Memorial Awards honoring the former Rock Island philanthropist, civic leader, president of the State Historical Society and one of the founders of *Illinois History*.

A summary, made later by Mrs. Connolly, revealed that *Illinois History*, with a circulation of 3,500, now goes to 467 schools in 244 towns throughout the state. A total of 342 student articles was submitted during the year, and of this number 64, from 23 schools, were published.

The complete list of the twenty-six 1957-1958 Student Historian of the Year award winners follows:

ATHENS: Junia Kent, Athens Elementary School.
AURORA: Pam Kohn and Joyce Moody, Benjamin Franklin Junior High School.
BLOOMINGTON: Carol Nickell, Washington Junior High School.
CAMBRIDGE: Beverly Anderson, Cambridge High School.

CANTON: Sheila Haynes and Marilyn Muir, Canton Junior High School.
CHICAGO: John F. Evans and George A. Finola, Harvard School for Boys.
DIXON: Ellen B. Eichler, David Keeley, Margaret Ann Lindvall and Barbara Perry, Washington School.
ELGIN: Mary Wolff, Abbott Junior High School.
FREEPORT: Roger Maynard, Donna Schwarze and Mary Stauffer, Freeport Junior High School.
GRAND CHAIN: Ledillon Patrick, Grand Chain High School.
GURNEE: Jerry Schmidt, Gurnee Grade School.
MOLINE: Fred Odendahl, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School.
NEW LENOX: Bill Stekelberg and Judy Wiegel, Lincoln-Way Community High School.
NORMAL: Martin O'Connor, University High School.
ROCK ISLAND: Joel Robert Harris, Washington Junior High School.
STERLING: Carole Benson, Sterling Township High School, and Robert Wilson, Sterling Junior High School.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

A talk on Philadelphia, illustrated by slides, furnished the program for the Alton Area Historical Society on March 9.

The Historical Society of Arlington Heights met in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Milton Daniels on January 31 and February 28. At the January meeting Mrs. J. A. Zimmerman read a paper on "La Salle on the Mississippi." The Society is attemping to collect all available old copies of the *Arlington Heights Herald.*

Officers and directors of the Aurora Historical Society whose terms expired at the end of 1957 were re-elected at the annual meeting in January. They are: Joseph Lies, first vice-president; Robert W. Barclay, second vice-president; Bess M. Lockhart, secretary; Ray N. Stolp, treasurer; Robert E. Brown, Robert Conkling, Mrs. Ralph Erlanson, Mrs. Helen M. Meiers, Hugh Parker, George H. Simpson, James Simon and Norris Ulness, directors. The terms of President L. Ralph Mead and the other directors have not expired.

Mrs. Alice H. Applegate, curator of the Society's museum, reported on museum activities, stressing the new "transportation building" being constructed on the museum grounds from lumber from an old barn which was in the path of the Illlinois toll road. Directors Joseph Lies and J. J. Winn salvaged the material, and construction of the new building was planned by Vernon S. Derry. Prof. Clarence Smith is director of the museum, which, despite being closed for repairs for five

months, was visited during 1957 by 5,145 persons.

Ruth Helligas spoke at the Boone County Historical Society meeting at the Belvidere courthouse on January 10.

Tourists driving through Princeton will now be reminded of the Bureau County Historical Society's museum by a new sign, erected on U. S. highways 6 and 34 by the city commissioners and presented to the Society by Mayor Roy Rheeling.

During the Society's membership drive ending January 1, seventeen new life memberships and a total of twenty-four new memberships were reported. A number of donations to aid in the upkeep of the museum were received. Mrs. Doris Parr Leonard is secretary of the Society, and Mrs. Allie Whitney served as chairman of the drive.

The Centralia Historical Society is conducting a membership drive, and will award life memberships to the oldest citizen and oldest resident in a six-township area surrounding the city. L. H. Jonas, president of the Society, is heading the drive.

The Chicago Historical Society observed Lincoln's birthday with a notable series of events. On February 3 Paul M. Angle, former Illinois State Historian and executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, resumed the directorship of the Society. At the annual meeting on February 5 he discussed his new edition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, *Created Equal?,* published by the University of Chicago Press on February 12 (see page 203). Herbert C. Darbee of Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts, also spoke at the meeting. On February 9 a special exhibition featuring *Created Equal?* from original sources to finished book was placed on display in the Society's museum in Lincoln Park, accompanying a capsule presentation of the debates by John Tucker as Lincoln, Angle as Douglas, and Norman Barry as moderator. A film, "The Face of Lincoln," and a slide-talk, "Chicago as Lincoln Knew It," featured the program for children on February 12.

The annual meeting of the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society of Chicago was held at the Svithiod Singing Club on January 24. Speakers were Dr. Amandus Johnson, Swedish-American historian, and Dr. Karl A. Olsson of North Park College. E. Einar Anderson is president and E. Gustav Johnson secretary of the Society, founded in 1948.

The annual assembly held at York Community High School of Elmhurst under the auspices of the school's historical society was

held February 26. After music by the senior choir, slides on the life of Lincoln were shown. Faith Halfter, Stewart Benson and Marge Chaplin served as narrators. John Varland is faculty advisor to the society.

The Evanston Historical Society observed the Lincoln-Washington birthday month of February with a special exhibit of portraits of the two presidents and of a number of Evanston pioneers.

Joseph R. Fulkerson was the principal speaker at the Jersey County Historical Society's meeting on March 3, discussing surveying and land titles in the early history of the county. His grandfather, Joseph Russel, laid out the town of Fidelity. The Society's exhibits have been moved from the Chapman Building to the basement of the Public Library, where the meeting was held.

Officers of the Kankakee County Historical Society, re-elected at the annual meeting on November 17, 1957, are: Mrs. Thomas Baird, president; Len Small, Harold Simmons and Clermont DeSelm, vice-presidents; Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary; and Gilbert Hertz, treasurer. Mrs. Still, as curator of the Society's museum, reported on additions and visitors during the year. Richard S. Hagen of the State Division of Parks and Memorials was the speaker. Due to the illness of the president, Ralph E. Francis, past president of the county and Illinois State historical societies, presided at the meeting.

Auston Schradenbach, history teacher in the R.O.V.A. school, spoke on the Lincoln Trail in Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois at the meeting of Knox County Historic Sites members on November 26, 1957. Jessie R. Peck, Knox County superintendent of schools, presided. Mrs. Irving Garcelon is president of the group.

Paul Carus of Peru, a great-grandson of Edward Hegeler, co-founder of the Matthiessen & Hegeler Zinc Company of La Salle, reviewed the company's history in connection with its centennial, before the La Salle County Historical Society on February 9. Carus' mother, Mrs. Edward Carus, was the first president of the Society. Keith Clark of Ottawa sang original ballads on La Salle County history.

Permission was granted the Society by the county board of supervisors on March 13 to erect a plaque to Stephen A. Douglas on one of the pillars of the courthouse.

The Libertyville-Mundelein Historical Society heard four World War II veterans describe their experiences in the Pacific at the Society's meeting on March

24. Gordon Keith Ray described the attack on Pearl Harbor; James Ray, MacArthur's campaign in the Philippines; Marvin Laycock, imprisonment on Corregidor; and Richard Bonk, Air Force experiences in the Marianas.

New officers of the Marshall County Historical Society, elected by the directors on January 17, are: Roscoe Ball, president; Ray Litchfield, Roland Braun and Mrs. Ralph Kimpling, vice-presidents; Eleanor Bussell, secretary; and John Boose, treasurer. New directors, elected by the membership at the annual meeting on January 30, are Robert N. Turnbull, Mrs. Harold Carter, Wayne Buck, Mrs. Dorothy King, John F. Boose, William Hattan, Ray B. Litchfield, Mrs. Blake Grieves and T. Val Wenk.

Bricks made from Marshall County clay soil served as table decorations at the annual meeting. Some of them are to go into the new addition to the courthouse, in which the Society will have space for meetings and exhibits. The feature of the program was an illustrated travel talk on "Historic Illinois," presented by Dr. and Mrs. Walter Bayne of Henry.

Walter Durley Boyle, state's attorney of Putnam County, addressed the Society on March 31, placing special emphasis on stories of the period before Marshall County was cut off from Putnam.

Drs. Glenn H. Seymour and Charles H. Coleman of the faculty of Eastern Illinois University discussed the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Charleston at the meeting of the Mattoon Historical Society on March 19 at the home of President Ray Redding. Other officers of the Society are: F. F. Homann, vice-president; Mrs. J. H. Glover, secretary-treasurer; F. F. Homann, G. W. Dunn, H. E. Dunn, H. E. Green and Robert Sterling, directors.

Dr. Ethel Seybold of the Illinois College faculty addressed the Morgan County Historical Society on January 10 on Emerson and Alcott in Illinois. In the absence of President Clarence P. McClelland, Vice-President George Vasconcellos presided.

Clem Siegfried of Niota showed members of the Nauvoo Historical Society his colored slides taken during his tour of duty with the Navy at the Society's annual meeting on February 11. A committee was appointed to act in conjunction with Mayor Lowell Horton in restoring and marking historic sites in Nauvoo.

New officers of the Society elected at this meeting are: Mrs. Edna Griffith, president; Paxon Lewis and Raymond Repplinger, vice-presidents; Alberta Balmer, recording secretary; Mrs. C. J. Blum, corresponding secretary and librarian; K. J. Reinhardt,

treasurer; Preston Kimball, auditor; and Sister Mary Innocent, historiographer.

Mrs. Jack Wilcox of Rockford addressed the Ogle County Historical Society on "Our Heritage of Citizenship" at Stillman Valley on February 25.

Clarence Parks spoke to the Polo chapter on old mill sites in the area on January 24, illustrating his talk with slides. The chapter voted to plant grass and shrubs around the plaque marking the site of the first cabin in what is now Ogle County.

C. Merle Haselton of Rochelle, in memory of his great-grandfather David Beverly Haselton who settled in Ogle County in 1842, has given money for prizes in a contest among high-school students of the county for a design for a seal for the Ogle County Society.

Mrs. Ernest Wiehrdt was the speaker at the Palatine Historical Society meeting on January 6, discussing early settlers of the area with special emphasis on her own ancestors.

Subscriptions to *Illinois History* magazine have been given to the public libraries in DuQuoin and Pinckneyville by the Perry County Historical Society. The presentation was made by Pona Eaton, secretary, on behalf of the Society.

Gale D. Hicks presented a program on Lincoln at the Society's meeting on February 3. Mrs. Lillian Brown read a Lincoln poem. Vice-President Charles Matthews presided.

The writings of John W. Allen, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, were the subject of the Society's March 3 meeting. James Kimsey presented three scrapbooks containing all of Allen's newspaper articles, and discussed those dealing with Perry County. President Raymond E. Lee informed the group that its application for a state historical marker to commemorate the hundred-year-old Perry County Fair has been approved.

The Rockton Township (Winnebago County) Historical Society met on January 13, February 10 and March 10.

Addison Hapeman of Woodlawn was the principal speaker at the Saline County Historical Society's meeting on January 7. He discussed his hobby, the geology and archaeology of Southern Illinois. John W. Brown, director of the Eldorado Art Center, sang a solo, accompanied by Ruth Hamilton.

Mrs. Ralph Brown, Sr., reveiwed Ruth Painter Randall's *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* for the Society on February 4. Lorna Jane Dallas and Charles Rann, accompanied by Larry Edwards, sang two duets.

At the Society's March 4 meeting John Foster and Louis Aaron showed a film depicting a flatboat trip to New Orleans in the early nineteenth century. Dr. Neva Skelton of Eldorado and Dr. W. J. Blackard of Harrisburg reminisced about the early days of their practice. and also told of the early medical men of Saline County. Officers of the Society for 1958-1959, elected at this meeting, are: Louis E. Aaron, president; Mrs. Paul Hatfield and Don Scott, vice-presidents; James Bond, secretary-treasurer; William H. Farley, Ray Altmire, George O. Davenport, E. B. Webster and D. F. Rumsey, directors for three years.

Dr. Mildred F. Berry, professor of speech at Rockford College, addressed the Stephenson County Historical Society on February 12 on "Lincoln on the Platform." A special Civil War exhibit was on display at the Society's museum.

Philip L. Keister, past president of the county and Illinois State historical societies, was the speaker on March 14. His subject was electric interurban railroads, using especially the material on the local one from his book *The Rockford and Interurban Railway,* published by the Electric Railway Historical Society of Chicago in 1957.

Brigadier George V. Perry, former president of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford and now commander of Sweden's largest division of the Salvation Army, was the principal speaker at the Society's twentieth anniversary banquet on November 23, 1957. Other anniversary events were held during the preceding week.

The Society sponsored a special Carl Sandburg exhibit and open house at its museum on January 5, honoring Sandburg's eightieth birthday the following day.

Officers of the Society's women's organization, elected March 17, are: Mrs. Gust Sjoblom, chairman; Mrs. David W. Johnson and Mrs. Blanche E. Alden, vice-chairmen; Mrs. Adolph G. Miller, secretary; and Mrs. Simon Lindstrom, treasurer.

Dr. Wayne C. Temple of the Illinois State Museum spoke on Lincoln before the Vandalia Historical Society on February 12.

The General John M. Robinson house in Carmi — more than 140 years old and older than the town itself — was the scene of a tea given by the White County Historical Society on Tuesday, May 13, which saw the group's membership soar to a total of 237.

The house is described in John Drury's *Old Illinois Houses,* where it is called a "living museum. It is still owned and occupied by a member of the general's family — his granddaughter, Miss Mary Jane Stewart. The original house was a two-room, one-story-and-loft log cabin which, on several

occasions, served as the White County Courthouse. General Robinson — he was also United States Senator, 1830-1841 — purchased it in 1835, had the logs covered with clapboards and added several wings. Among the furnishings that make it a "living museum" are mementoes of Abraham Lincoln, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren and James Buchanan, in addition to many items brought from Washington by Robinson.

Hostesses at the tea, who were dressed in the costumes of a century ago, were Mrs. A. E. Stocke, Mrs. J. Robert Smith, Mrs. Henry G. Walker, Mrs. James Robert Endicott, Mrs. Hugh Hale, Mrs. Lee Organ, Mrs. Chalon Land, Mrs. Claude Barnes, Mrs. Allen Ball, Mrs. Robert Ready Williams, Mrs. J. Madison Pomeroy, and Mrs. W. Richard Cochran. Guests were also greeted by officers of the White County Society, J. Robert Smith, president; Henry G. Walker, vice-president; and James Robert Endicott, secretary-treasurer.

Among the visitors were Mr. and Mrs. Wasson W. Lawrence of Fairfield and Mr. and Mrs. Louis E. Aaron of Harrisburg. Mr. Lawrence is president of the Wayne County Historical Society and a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and Mr. Aaron is president of the Saline County Society and a director of the State Society.

The White County Historical Society is less than two years old and has enjoyed exuberant health since its inception. The tea was given picture and story coverage by the *Carmi Times* and the *Evansville,* (Indiana) *Sunday Courier and Press* gave it a picture page.

Logan County Students Win Historical Awards

Three Logan County high school students and three from the county's elementary schools were given awards in ceremonies at Lincoln College on May 18 as the climax of a historical essay contest sponsored jointly by the Logan County Historical Society and the Lions Clubs of the county — Lincoln, Mt. Pulaski, Atlanta, New Holland and San Jose.

Each of the six winners received a trophy consisting of a bronze bust of Abraham Lincoln mounted on a pedestal made of wood from the Lincoln Home in Springfield, in addition to their monetary prizes. These prizes were a $25 government bond for first place and $15 and $10 in cash respectively for second and third. The ten top students in the contest also received a year's subscription to *Illinois History* magazine.

First place in the high school division went to Lennie Latrell of

Elkhart for his essay, "How Elkhart Hill Got Its Name." Second was Paul Manes of Mt. Pulaski, who wrote about "The Founders of Mt. Pulaski." Linda Patterson of Atlanta was third with an essay titled "Atlanta Fair."

In the elementary school division, first place went to Stephen Martin of Mt. Pulaski for writing "Pioneers Into the Past." Second and third place awards went respectively to Raymond Smith of Elkhart for "A Shoebox Full of History," and John Wakefield of Broadwell for "The Early History of the Broadwell Christian Church."

Illinois History *Presented to Ogle County High Schools*

Subscriptions to *Illinois History,* the magazine for teen-agers sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society, have been presented to the eight high schools in its area by the Ogle County Historical Society. The high schools are at Byron, Forreston, Leaf River, Mount Morris, Oregon, Polo, Rochelle and Stillman Valley.

Temple Joins Lincoln Memorial University Staff

Dr. Wayne C. Temple, Curator of Ethnohistory at the Illinois State Museum, Springfield, has accepted an appointment as Director of the Department of Lincolniana and Associate Professor of History at Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, beginning May 1. As a part of his duties he will edit the *Lincoln Herald,* a quarterly devoted to Lincoln and the Civil War.

Temple received his A.B., A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Illinois where he served as research assistant to the late Dr. James G. Randall during much of the period when the latter was writing his four-volume biography of Abraham Lincoln. Upon the death of Dr. Randall, February 20, 1953, Temple became a teaching assistant in the history department. At that time he compiled a bibliography of Dr. Randall's writings which was published along with a biographical sketch by Dr. Harry E. Pratt, in the Summer, 1953, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.*

Temple has written three articles for the *Journal*: "The Pike's Peak Gold Rush," Summer, 1951; "Lincoln's Fence Rails," Spring, 1954; and "The Piasa Bird: Fact or Fiction?" Autumn, 1956. He is also the author of an article, "The Date of the Alschuler Ambrotype of Lincoln," published in the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly,* for December, 1951, and a sketch, "Shabbona: Friend of the Whites," in the Fall-Winter, 1957 issue of *Outdoors in Illinois.*

During his four years at the

State Museum Dr. Temple has completed a study of the Indians of Illinois which will be published this autumn under the title *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country: Historic Indians*. He has also compiled an atlas for the early history of Illinois.

Dr. Temple is a member of several honorary scholastic organizations and historical associations. He has long been active in the work of the Boy Scouts of America and was a deacon in the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield. Also, he is frequently in demand as a public speaker in the Lincoln field.

Seeks Stephen A. Douglas Letters

Robert W. Johannsen, assistant professor of history at the University of Kansas, is engaged in compiling the letters of Stephen A. Douglas for publication. He will appreciate information concerning any Douglas letters privately owned or among the papers of his contemporaries in public institutions. Address: Robert W. Johannsen, Department of History, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

Of Special Interest to Genealogists

Three pamphlets of special interest to genealogists have recently been issued by the National Genealogical Society. And, although it is not a circulating library, lending copies of these pamphlets are available at the Illinois State Historical Library. They are:

General Aids to Genealogical Research (Special Publication No. 14, 1957), $2.50. $1.50 to NGS members.

Special Aids to Genealogical Research on Southern Families (Special Publication No. 15, 1957), $3.00. $2.00 to NGS members.

Special Aids to Genealogical Research in Northeastern and Central States (Special Publication No. 16, 1957. $3.00. $2.00 to NGS members.

These are compilations of articles that have appeared in the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* and are now reprinted in this form for greater convenience. Copies also may be purchased at the prices quoted above from the National Genealogical Society, 1821 Sunderland Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Journal

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Clyde C. Walton
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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Dues are $3 a year, or $50 for Life Membership. Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, disseminate the story of the state and its citizens, and encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library has large holdings of, and specializes in, Lincolniana and the Civil War period.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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JUDSON WHITE

Patrick Henry Davenport, Pioneer Illinois Portrait Painter

A native of Mt. Carmel, Illinois, Milburn Judson White, Jr., is head of the Department of Psychology and Philosophy at Stephen F. Austin College, Nacogdoches, Texas. He received a Ph.D in educational psychology from the University of North Carolina, has written articles in the fields of psychology, education, religion and history, and is working on a bibliography of books about southern Illinois.

PATRICK HENRY DAVENPORT was one of the pioneer portrait painters of Illinois. He was born in Kentucky and emigrated to Illinois, eventually settling just west of Sumner, in Lawrence County. He made a portion of his livelihood from painting and apparently was an artist of some merit, for he was given at least not unfavorable comment in such outstanding regional surveys, or histories, of art as Wilbur D. Peat's *Pioneer Painters of Indiana,*[1] and Edna Talbott Whitley's *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture*[2] as well as in studies more nearly national in character, such as the *American Portrait Inventory.*[3] Davenport lived much of his mature life in the state of his adoption and on his death in 1890 was buried in Sumner. Most of his work appears to have

1. Wilbur D. Peat, *Pioneer Painters of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1954), 71-72, 186, 228-29.

2. Edna Talbott Whitley, *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture . . .* ([Paris, Ky.], 1956), 162, 519, 574, 650-51.

3. New Jersey Historical Records Survey Project, comp., *American Portrait Inventory, 1440 Early American Portrait Artists (1663-1860)* (Newark, N. J., 1940).

been done in Kentucky, Indiana, and possibly Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi, but there is little reason to assume that he purposely avoided the state of his principal residence in his professional activity. However, a diligent search by Dr. Byron R. Lewis, of Bridgeport, Illinois, and Judge Curtis G. Shake, of Vincennes, Indiana, has failed to discover any of Davenport's work in the general area of his Sumner home.

It is my intent here to present such facts as are known of Davenport's personal and professional activity in the hope that more light can ultimately be thrown on what must have been one of the more active pioneer painting careers of the state of Illinois. It is possible to formulate a rather objective estimate of the artistic merit of Davenport's work and to trace his professional activity with some precision. Even so, a challenge is presented when one attempts to reconstruct a personality from fragmentary family documents and the hazy memories of four individuals who as children knew only the shell of the artist, who was by then a senile old man. However, and perhaps of most interest, the study of Davenport offers an opportunity to observe at close range the impact of frontier culture on the personality of an artist. This opportunity, it is hoped, can be realized in at least a small way.

Patrick Henry Davenport was born in Danville, Kentucky, November 3, 1803, at the "Indian Queen Tavern,"[4] operated by his parents, Richard Davenport and Elizabeth Tadlock Davenport. Earlier, his parents had operated a hostelry in Harrodsburg, Kentucky,[5] and his father was first a major and later a colonel in the War of 1812, serving with distinction in the Sixth Kentucky Regiment. This service

4. Whitley, *Ky. Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* 650.

5. Edna Talbott Whitley to writer, Feb. 27, 1957.

won him a written testimonial from the officers of the company at Camp Miami, No. 3, on December 21, 1812. Subsequently, he was elevated to the rank of brigadier general by Governor Gabriel Slaughter for valor and good conduct.[6] Also, he was a juror in one of the Aaron Burr trials and is said to have made frequent trips to Europe in connection with his other activities as merchant and landholder.[7] This point is mentioned here because it may throw some light on the nature and locale of the academic training in art that may possibly have been enjoyed by his son. Edna Talbott Whitley comments as follows on the possibility that General Davenport made visits to Europe: "It would be more logical to believe General Davenport's trips, as merchant, were made to Philadelphia or (later Pittsburg) as the former was the place all Kentucky merchants bought goods. It would be equivalent to taking a trip abroad now."[8] At any rate, records indicate that Richard Davenport emigrated from Spotsylvania County, Virginia (the place of his birth in about 1777), to the state of Kentucky. He was the son of John and Elizabeth Carter Davenport.[9]

Elizabeth Tadlock Davenport, mother of Patrick Henry, was born in Tennessee and is thought to have been the daughter of John Tadlock, a prominent Kentuckian.[10]

General and Mrs. Davenport had five children in addition

6. Bennett H. Young, *The Battle of the Thames . . . .(Filson Club Publication No. 18;* Louisville, Ky., 1903), 156-57. Original documents in possession of Mary Eliza Davenport, Tacoma, Wash.

7. Mrs. J. N. Russell, granddaughter of Davenport's, to Wilbur D. Peat, May 25, 1949. A copy of this document was furnished the writer by Dr. Peat, March 24, 1956.

8. Edna Talbott Whitley to writer, March 10, 1957.

9. Mrs. Lafe McKittrick, great-granddaughter of Davenport's, supplied the writer with documents she had used for application to membership in the D.A.R.

10. From conversation with John Means, formerly of Ashland, Ky., who was a direct descendant of John Tadlock's. This point needs further verification.

Portrait of Mrs. Patrick Henry Davenport, painted by her husband.

to Patrick Henry.[11] Eliza S. married James Harlan, and their son, the Honorable John M. Harlan, was Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1877 to 1911.[12] The Honorable John M. Harlan who is now a member of the United States Supreme Court is a grandson of the first Justice Harlan. A second daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Davenport, Sarah Ann, married John V. B. Vanarsdale. The other three children were sons: Richard, Charles F. and James.[13] James later was graduated *magna cum laude* from the medical school at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky.[14]

Patrick Henry Davenport, the artist, married Eliza Bohannon of Mississippi and Georgia, at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on July 24, 1827. According to family records, Eliza Bohannon was of French or possibly Spanish ancestry and was originally from Acadia. "You can see that [her Latin features] in the oil painting of her . . . that Patrick Henry painted" is the comment of eighty-two-year-old Mary Eliza Davenport, granddaughter of the painter.[15] Eight children were born to this marriage, the last of whom died in 1936. They were:

R. M. Angelo Davenport, born October 20, 1828: died February 11, 1864, at Claremont, Illinois.

Julius Ramano Davenport, born June 28, 1830, died ?.

Henry Lee Davenport, born June 16, 1832; died March 31, 1877, at Sumner, Illinois.

Eugenia Belle Davenport Hollingsworth, born March 4, 1834; died December 25, 1906, at Evansville, Indiana.

11. Deed to Crab Orchard Springs, Ky., signed by all of the Davenport children; now in the possession of the writer.

12. Young, *Battle of the Thames,* 156.

13. Deed to Crab Orchard Springs, Ky.

14. Russell to Peat, May 10, 1949.

15. Mary Eliza Davenport to writer, Jan. 31, 1957.

Aletha Ann Davenport, born March 3, 1836; died February 28, 1837.

James William Davenport, born January 12, 1838; died July 7, 1922, at Olympia, Washington.

Mary Elizabeth Davenport May, born June 19, 1840; died February 18, 1936, at Enfield, Illinois.

Sallie Bowman Davenport, born June 3, 1847; died April 4, 1928, at Olympia, Washington.[16]

Mrs. Whitley provides another penetrating insight as she comments on the name doubtless chosen by Davenport himself for his first son: "The Michel Angelo in the first child's name certainly shows artistic aspirations. . . ."[17]

Davenport had some training in art, but the amount and quality is not certain. Dr. Wilbur D. Peat states that "he embarked upon a painting career with little or no formal instruction; he may have had some lessons from Asa Park, of Kentucky."[18] Mrs. Whitley comments on his training: "Though sometimes referred to as a Pennsylvania artist, Davenport was not an academician. He may have had some lessons from Jouett."[19] Later, Mrs. Whitley makes the additional comment: "Frazer was a pupil of Jouett's which is why I thought Davenport might have been. Park is more like his style than Jouett."[20] Mrs. J. N. Russell, a great-granddaughter of Davenport's, reports what must be either direct information from her father or family tradition: "Asa Park painted the family of General Richard D. Davenport and was no doubt an inspiration to Patrick Henry. The family legend is that P. H. loved his painting and all forms of art. He later studied in Europe. . . . We believe that

16. McKittrick documents, see *ante,* n. 9.

17. Whitley to writer, March 10, 1957.

18. Peat, *Pioneer Painters of Ind.,* 72.

19. Whitley, *Ky. Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* 650.

20. Whitley to writer, March 10, 1957.

he studied with Asa Park in Kentucky as I have a painting done by Park of Davenport's brother."[21] A living granddaughter of Patrick Henry Davenport, Miss Mary Eliza Davenport, of Olympia, Washington, states categorically: "I am *positive* he [Patrick Henry Davenport] never was in Europe. I am sure Aunt Sally [daughter of P. H. D.] would have mentioned it and she never did. I don't think any of Mrs. R[ussell]'s information is very correct."[22] If young Davenport did study in Europe, he must have done so between 1818, the probable date of his father's death, and 1827, the date of his own marriage. At any rate, Mrs. Russell, before her death, had in her possession a painting of the head of an Italian girl, signed "After Guido," and dated 1835.[23] Mrs. Whitley supplies a possible explanation for the portrait signed in this fashion: "The Italian head 'After Guido' could have been done from engravings as young artists who did not get to go abroad often copied them for the artistic experience."[24]

These suggested dates of study abroad are obviously conjectural and only explore the possibilities suggested by Mrs. Russell's information. However, it would seem probable that Davenport had some sort of training. While the writer is not familiar with the academic pattern such training called for at the time, the Davenport family had shown an interest in education in previous generations, and there is little reason to assume that they would have abandoned this interest in the case of the artist. Patrick Henry's brother James was educated in medicine, it will be recalled. Further, family records and tradition indicate that there was

21. Russell to Peat, May 25, 1949.
22. Davenport to writer, Feb. 3, 1957.
23. Russell to Peat, May 10, 1949.
24. Whitley to writer, March 10, 1957.

sufficient money in the family to have made possible at least some sort of formal education.

Davenport began painting very early and, after the fashion of painters of his day, moved about a great deal; like others of his calling, he too placed advertisements in local newspapers announcing his availability for work. Dr. Peat states that Davenport's earliest known painting was done in 1829 near Paris, Kentucky.[25] However, according to Mrs. Whitley, others think that he did some work much earlier; for example, the painting of Mrs. Robert Rodes (Eliza Delaney) is believed to have been done in 1818,[26] when the artist was fifteen years of age. Mrs. Whitley later commented as follows:

> One point that worries me is the tender age which was attributed to the painter in setting a date for the pictures of Mrs. Rodes. The owners of the pictures set that year, without any knowledge of the painter's age. Frankly, I think them mistaken in interpreting a rubbed out date, no longer there. There is too big a gap of time between them at thirteen [fifteen], for the bony structure is so well done. Another thing, Mrs. Rodes is so cadaverous I do not think she would have lasted another 19 years, looking like that. She wore mourning ribbons on her cap but widows did that for life in those days. I believe it was painted in 1828, for surely she was more than fifty-nine, even allowing for the hardships of pioneer life.[27]

In the event that the 1818 date is incorrect, it can be stated with certainty that Davenport did work professionally in 1820, when he did the portrait of Dr. Ephraim McDowell.[28] Whatever the date at which Davenport started painting professionally, he is known to have continued in this activity until at least 1873. In that year, Dr. Peat states, Daven-

25. Peat, *Pioneer Painters of Ind.*, 72.

26. Whitley, *Ky. Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* 519, 651.

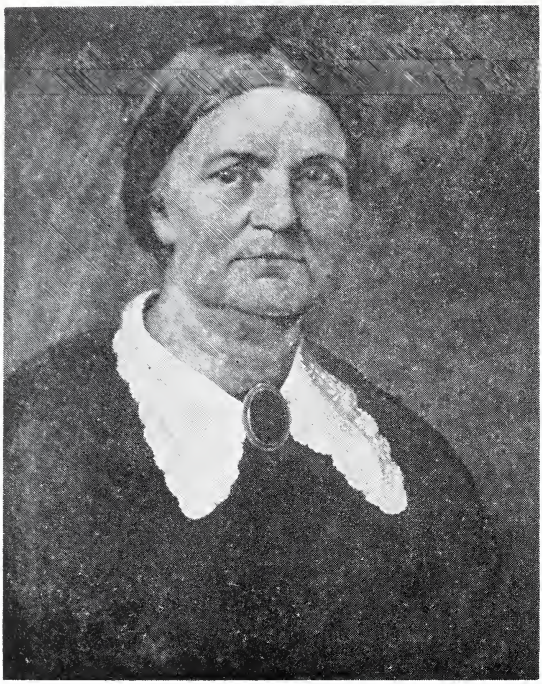
27. Whitley to writer, March 10, 1957.

28. Whitley, *Ky. Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* 650-51; see also p. 65.

port "was working in Indianapolis, as confirmed by his portraits of Thomas H. Jameson and his wife Anna Rhoades — the latter painted from a photograph after her death — owned by Mrs. James Drummond, of Indianapolis."[29]

According to Dr. Peat, painters of that era were of necessity itinerant.[30] Davenport followed the pattern and painted in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, probably also in Ohio and possibly in Tennessee or Mississippi. Ohio is included in this statement on the basis of information supplied by Mrs. Clem Schuder, of Sumner, Illinois. Mrs. Schuder interviewed an unnamed friend, who at one time was a neighbor of the Davenport family on the outskirts of Sumner. This neighbor did not know where the Davenports came from but did recall hearing them talk a great deal about Cincinnati, Ohio, and got the impression that they had lived there.[31] Dr. Peat mentions that the city of Cincinnati was at one time a point where artists congregated, and doubtless Davenport, too, worked there.[32] There is at least a strong possibility that Davenport may also have done some work in Tennessee and Mississippi, especially the latter. It will be recalled that he married Eliza Bohannon of Vicksburg in 1827. He met her when she was fifteen, and they were married when she was just seventeen.[33] This leaves two years to be accounted for; when one considers the enthusiasm of youth and the temperament of the artist, it is difficult to believe that Davenport was not painting in this period. If he remained for any appreciable time in either Tennessee or Mississippi, he doubtless did some painting. This is

29. Peat, *Pioneer Painters of Ind.*, 72.
30. *Ibid.*, xii.
31. Letter from Mrs. Clem Schuder, of Sumner, Ill., to the writer, Jan. 3, 1956.
32. Peat, *Pioneer Painters of Ind.*, xv.
33. Davenport to writer, Feb. 3, 1957.



Patrick Henry Davenport's portraits of his parents: Elizabeth Tadlock Davenport and Richard Davenport. Both paintings are now owned by the artist's great grandson, Amos S. Wood, of Benton, Illinois.

only a possibility, of course, but it should be kept in mind.

As indicated earlier, Davenport moved about a great deal, and it may serve some purpose to give a brief listing of the known places and dates of his artistic activity.

Kentucky

Nelson County	1820
Madison County	1824, 1829, 1834
Garrard County	1823, 1829, 1837, 1838
Danville	Various dates
Crab Orchard Springs	1832, 1851
Owensboro and Henderson	1840 and after Civil War

Illinois

Cairo	1834
Sumner	1838, 1880 (this sketch not a professional effort)

Indiana

Pike County	1850
Mitchell	1857
Spencer	1859
Fort Wayne	1859
Evansville	(Probably during Civil War)
Indianapolis	1873[34]

A cursory inspection of this tabulation reveals many gaps in time, since only a few portraits out of Davenport's total artistic production have been located. "Uncle Heddy" Jennings, octogenarian extraordinary and retired graveyard sexton of Sumner, Illinois, does not remember Davenport as an active farmer. In fact, he says that Davenport never

34. Dates and locations arrived at by combining the dates presented in Peat, *Pioneer Painters of Ind.*, 71-72, and Whitley, *Ky. Ante-Bellum Portraiture*, 650-51.

did anything but "paint pictures of people." Jennings and Davenport's granddaughter, Mary May White (Mrs. M. J. White, of Mt. Carmel, Illinois), both recall that the Davenports had quite an extensive general orchard.[35] Since several of Davenport's children and their families made their homes at the farm near Sumner, it is probable that members of the family, rather than Davenport himself, did such farming as was done. Time and additional research will doubtless fill the gaps in his painting itinerary. At any rate, the fact that Davenport was a prolific painter is attested to by three of his granddaughters. All recall having seen a large number of family portraits on display in various rooms about the Sumner home[36] – the total effect of this display in a farmhouse in rural southern Illinois must have been as striking then as it would be now.

It is interesting to learn from the comments of Dr. Peat and Mrs. Whitley how so many of Davenport's paintings can be identified and the location of each commission so easily fixed. Peat states that "Davenport was one of the few painters who signed and dated his work (on the back of the canvases), thus enabling one to chart without difficulty his meanderings through the state."[37] To this Mrs. Whitley adds: "His signatures in different forms, *Henry Davenport, P. Henry Davenport* and occasionally *P. H. Davenport* usually occur on the back of his canvases with the place and date of painting."[38]

It is beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate the artistic merits of Davenport's painting. However, it is worth

35. Interviews of writer with "Uncle Heddy" Jennings and Mrs. White.

36. From conversation with Mary May White, of Mt. Carmel, Ill., a granddaughter of Davenport's who visited in the home during the artist's lifetime.

37. Peat, *Pioneer Painters of Ind.,* 71.

38. Whitley, *Ky. Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* 650.

while to note some of the comments about his work both by people who knew him and by modern critics. Dr. Peat states that "Davenport's manner of painting was terse and harsh. His taut, rigid drawing plus stern expressions on the faces of the subjects, particularly in his earlier productions, give the impression that all his sitters were grave and sullen people."[39] Mrs. Whitley believes that his Indiana portraits, painted between 1850 and 1870, "show declining skill,"[40] and are thus not typical of the artist's best work. Davenport is remembered by his granddaughter Mrs. White as quiet but taciturn.[41] Her description of his personality makes one wonder whether all of Davenport's subjects were as somber as he painted them or whether the world in general was somber to him. "Uncle Heddy" Jennings recalls him in somewhat the same manner as does Mrs. White.[42] But the portrait of Dr. Benjamin Franklin Duncan, done in 1837, shows no sign of an unhappy or stern expression or of the harsh technique noted by Dr. Peat.[43] The only person now alive who actually lived with Davenport is his granddaughter Mary Eliza Davenport, who recalls the artist as anything but somber; on the contrary, she says, though he was quiet, he was gay. She reports that he was given to outbursts of temper, but never once in the long years of his marriage did he utter a cross or unkind word to his wife.[44] However, it is quite possible that personal circumstances of his life after 1850 may have projected themselves into his artistic activities. It was on the advice of Davenport's

39. Peat, *Pioneer Painters of Ind.*, 72.

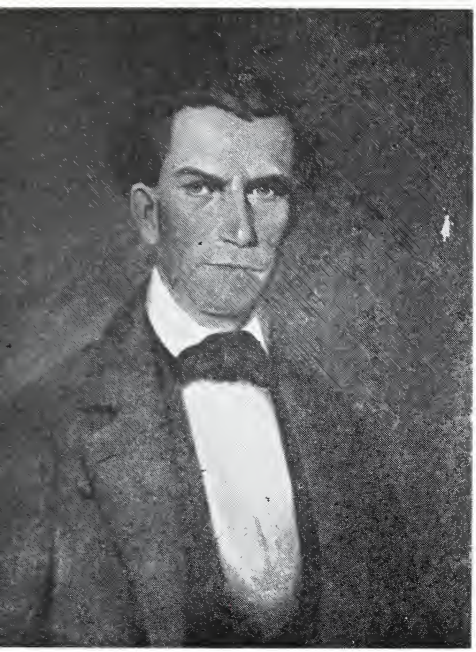
40. Whitley, *Ky. Ante-Bellum Portraiture*, 650.

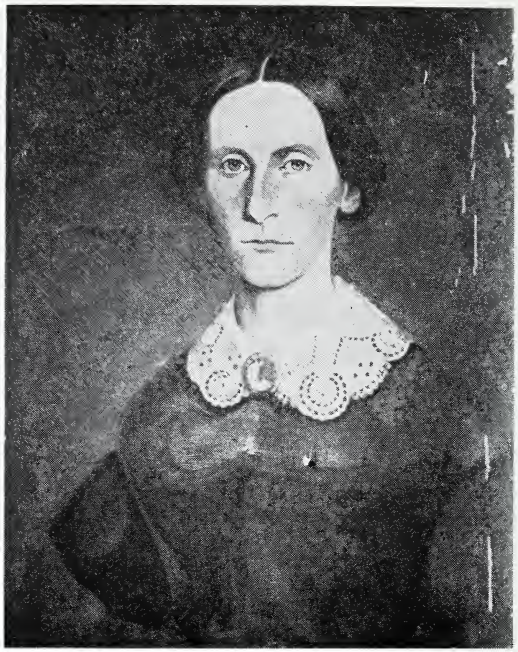
41. From conversations with Mrs. White.

42. From conversations with "Uncle Heddy" Jennings in Sumner, Ill., during summers of 1955 and 1956.

43. Whitley, *Ky. Ante-Bellum Portraiture*, 258.

44. Davenport to writer, Jan. 31, 1957.





Mr. and Mrs. William M. Franklin, two of Davenport's Indiana subjects, whose portraits show the "taut, rigid drawing" and "declining skill" of the artist's later work.

son-in-law, William Edwin Hollingsworth, of Evansville, Indiana, that the artist gave up plans to move to Texas after the sale of Crab Orchard Springs, Kentucky. Instead, Hollingsworth persuaded him to buy the farm near Sumner. This move, Miss Davenport believes, was "a terrible mistake,"[45] presumably for financial reasons, since Davenport's financial situation did deteriorate to some extent after the move to Sumner. In truth, many of Davenport's portraits do seem either to be likenesses of unhappy individuals or to have been painted by one who had soured on the world. However, human nature being what it is, it is doubtful if happy people of any era would sit for, then accept and pay for, grossly unflattering portraits of themselves. Perhaps

45. *Ibid.*

Davenport simply painted what was there and what he saw. As his granddaughter explains: "His paintings may look solemn. Did you ever see any of the old paintings that didn't? I think they must have all been solemn in those days."[46] This statement is corroborated by Mrs. Whitley, who writes:

> It was [then] the convention to make all portraits solemn. A twinkle in the eye or a slightly turned up mouth corner was all that was permitted, for dignity had to be maintained at all costs. To show the teeth as in modern magazine and newspaper photography would have been a breach of etiquette. (It may be just as well as dentists were few and bleaching toothpastes unknown). The harsh visage can be explained in another way, too, for going to Indiana or Illinois was equivalent for a Kentuckian to step back a generation in pioneer life. Again, Davenport had been accustomed to having slaves in his management of resort hotels if not in private life. In suddenly doing without them while undertaking a more primitive type of farming he had to make an adjustment.
>
> Again, when a painter reached bifocal age there was another adjustment to make and some of his work could be attributed to changes in vision.[47]

Perhaps the surmise relative to the artist's loss of servants is correct, for Mary Eliza Davenport has this to say: "He placed his family on the farm in Illinois while he was away painting. All the Negro servants they brought with them soon went back to the south – they were not slaves."[48]

Before he bought the Sumner farm, Davenport, following the vocation of his father, had been proprietor of a hotel at Crab Orchard Springs, in Lincoln County, Kentucky, one of the busiest and most attractive watering-places in the state.[49] According to family tradition, he sold out his hold-

46. *Ibid.*
47. Whitley to writer, March 19, 1957.
48. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1957.
49. John Winston Coleman, *Springs of Kentucky: An Account of famed Watering-Places of the Blue-grass State, 1800-1935* (Lexington, 1955).

ings there in 1853 for the sum of $40,000 in gold, but why he left the hotel business is not known.[50]

While he operated the Springs resort, Davenport appears to have done little painting. Perhaps his early love of the work had dimmed with the passing of time and the increase of family responsibility; such a deduction is substantiated by a letter from his son Henry, who wrote from De Witt County, Texas, in 1853:

> Since I have been here I have heard Pa has sold the Springs [Crab Orchard]. He should come out to Texas by all means before he settles anywhere. There is a small farm about 7 miles from this on the Colette River . . . . [It] is one of the best stands for a hotel in Texas . . . Dr. Deisiger says . . . . if Pa will come out here and go into the cattle business he can . . . give all of his children a good start. . . . I have heard you say that you never would move again but when you come to think what Crab Orchard is and what a set of skin flints the inhabitants are. . . .

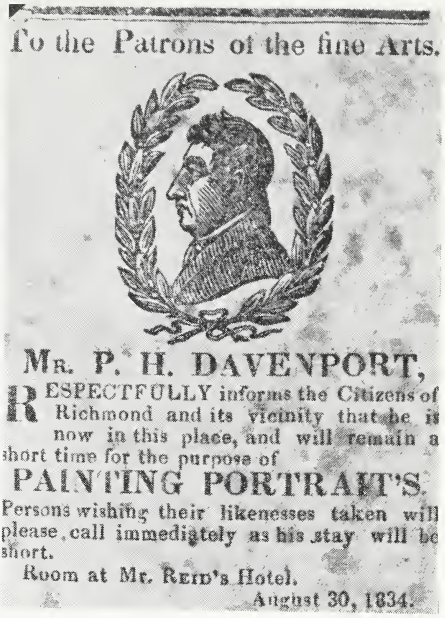
It is significant that Davenport's son did not think of his father as an artist (at least so far as income was concerned) but as a tavern operator or farmer.[51]

Dr. Robert G. Buzzard, president emeritus of Eastern Illinois University, who was born on the Davenport farm, comments in somewhat the same manner: "Davenport is a family name often mentioned by my father and mother, Peter and Annie (Piper) Buzzard. Father was particularly proud to be the owner of the Davenport farm . . . . [but] strange as it may seem to you I cannot recall ever hearing your great-grandfather spoken of as an artist."[52] Nevertheless, extant paintings and reliable statements of relatives and contemporaries indicate that the period after Davenport

50. Russell to Peat, May 25, 1949.

51. H. L. Davenport to his mother, Eliza Bohannon Davenport. The letter was written Sept. 1, 1853, from Pier Pont, De Witt County, Tex., and is now in the possession of the writer.

52. Buzzard to writer, April 3, 1957.



To the Patrons of the fine Arts.

MR. P. H. DAVENPORT,

RESPECTFULLY informs the Citizens of Richmond and its vicinity that he is now in this place, and will remain a short time for the purpose of

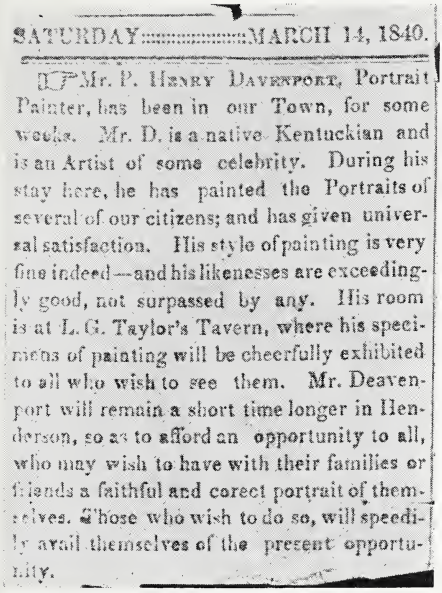
PAINTING PORTRAIT'S.

Persons wishing their likenesses taken will please call immediately as his stay will be short.

Room at Mr. REID's Hotel.

August 30, 1834.

Davenport's 1834 advertisement in a Richmond, Kentucky, newspaper.



SATURDAY.....MARCH 14, 1840.

☞Mr. P. HENRY DAVENPORT, Portrait Painter, has been in our Town, for some weeks. Mr. D. is a native Kentuckian and is an Artist of some celebrity. During his stay here, he has painted the Portraits of several of our citizens; and has given universal satisfaction. His style of painting is very fine indeed—and his likenesses are exceedingly good, not surpassed by any. His room is at L. G. Taylor's Tavern, where his specimens of painting will be cheerfully exhibited to all who wish to see them. Mr. Deavenport will remain a short time longer in Henderson, so as to afford an opportunity to all, who may wish to have with their families or friends a faithful and corect portrait of themselves. Those who wish to do so, will speedily avail themselves of the present opportunity.

The news columns of a Henderson, Kentucky, paper gave Davenport free advertising space when they recommended his work in 1840.

moved to Sumner was one of his most productive, if not most appealing.

Thus we have the story of a pioneer painter of Illinois. That he made an impression on the rugged frontier environment is questionable, but that he felt the relentless impact of the prairie country seems inevitable. He came and is gone – forgotten. Most certainly, numerous reminders of the struggle between the artist and that raw frontier still exist in the form of Davenport's unidentified portraits. Fur-

ther study and research will doubtless uncover many more paintings, and may further illuminate the character of the man. Perhaps the fact that he was named Patrick Henry was prophetic, for Davenport, like his namesake, was willing to strike out boldly with high hopes and frail armor. Such courage, such optimism, such Americanism should not remain unrecorded. It is hoped that this short study will assist in some small way toward that end.

Paintings by Patrick Henry Davenport

Kentucky Portraits—The following paintings of Kentuckians, listed in chronological order, have been identified and located by Mrs. Edna Talbott Whitley. The descriptions are from her *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture*:

1820 Dr. Ephraim McDowell (1771-1830), 21 by 27 inches; owned by the daughter of William Wallace McDowell, Mrs. W. T. Chandler, Alva, Oklahoma.

ca. 1820 Governor Isaac Shelby (two copies by Davenport); the copy received by his daughter Sarah Shelby upon her marriage to Dr. Ephraim McDowell in 1820; now at Richmond Courthouse, by gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Irvine. The other copy is at "Irvineton," Richmond.

1823 Adam Irvine (1802-1826), son of William and Elizabeth Hockaday Irvine; painting at "Irvineton," Richmond.

Mrs. Alexander Robertson [Margaret Robinson], 28 by 23 inches; owned by Mrs. John G. South [Christine Bradley], a great-great-granddaughter. Reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 273.

Dr. Wm. C. Taylor; owned by Mrs. A. (?) Russell, Cincinnati, Ohio.

1825 Mrs. Wm. Morrow [Nancy Field] (1778-1845); owned by Mrs. Julia Vaughan Spencer, Anchorage, Kentucky.

1827 Mrs. Isaac Shelby [Susannah Hart], on wood, painted at Danville; now at Kentucky Historical Society by gift of Miss Susannah Preston Shelby Grigsby, December, 1953.

1828 Mrs. Robert Rodes [Eliza Delaney], (1759-1837), painted for her daughter Sallie Harris [Mrs. Anthony Wayne Rollins]; now owned by Dr. Rodes Burnam, Louisville.

A second copy painted by Davenport for her daughter Elizabeth [Mrs. Wallace Estill]; owned by Robert Quisenberry, Danville.

A third copy painted for her daughter Nancy [Mrs. Samuel Stone]; owned by R.(?) Kinkead, Lexington.

A fourth copy painted for her son Clifton; owned by Judge John Rodes, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

A fifth copy (reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 518) painted for her son William was willed to Colonel James W. Caperton for his daughter, a descendant of Mrs. Rodes's daughter, Mrs. James Estill.

A sixth copy painted for Mary Eddings [Mrs. James Estill]; now owned by Mrs. Sam Eskew, Louisville.

1829 Benjamin Bell, 25 by 24 inches; owned by Jackson D. Guerrant, Danville.

Hon. Brutus J. Clay (1808-1878), 24 by 18 inches; owned by the Hon. Cassius M. Clay. Reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 13.

David Irvine, Sr., Clerk of the Madison Court.

Hugh Logan (1777-1868), of Garrard County; owned by Nichols Faulkner, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Mrs. Hugh Logan [Katherine Jackman] (1788-1865), 28 by 22 inches; owned by Nichols Faulkner, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Dr. Benjamin F. Duncan — painted at Lancaster, Kentucky, in 1837.

Dr. Ephraim McDowell (1771-1830), 27¾ by 21½ inches; painted at Danville; owned by Clendenin Library, University of Kansas Medical Center. Reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 65.

1834 Mrs. Thompson Burnam [Lucinda Field] (1792-1867), 28 by 22 inches, painted at Richmond, Kentucky; owned by Mrs. E. A. MacLeod [Mary Bennett], Columbia, Missouri. Reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 493.

1836 Major Squire Turner, profile; now at Richmond Courthouse.

1837 Dr. Benjamin Franklin Duncan (1808-1865), of Lancaster, 28½ by 23 inches; owned by the heirs of Davenport's granddaughter, the late Mrs. Christine Bradley

South. Reproduced in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 258.

Sarah Fisher, 30 by 26 inches; now at Fisher estate, Danville.

1838 Stephen Thompson Mason (1817-1844), of Garrard County; owned by Mrs. W. F. Logan [Edna Mason], Kingston, Pennsylvania.

1850 Mrs. Leonidas Brent Talbott [Mary Caperton], in rose dress with lace collar; blue mantle on nearby chair; owned by James Caperton Todd, Richmond.

1853 Joel W. Embry; owned by Mrs. M. B. Arbuckle.

n.d. Joseph Davis, Sr., formerly owned by Miss Florence Ragland, now in Lexington Public Library.

William Goodloe, not signed but attributed by Mrs. Whitley to Davenport. Reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 150.

Mrs. William Goodloe, not signed but attributed by Mrs. Whitley to Davenport. Reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 153.

James Harlan (father of Justice John Harlan); owned by Kentucky Historical Society. Not signed, but attributed by Mrs. Whitley to Davenport.

Mrs. James Harlan (mother of Justice John M. Harlan, and sister of Davenport); owned by Kentucky Historical Society. Not signed, but attributed by Mrs. Whitley to Davenport.

David Perry Hart not signed but attributed by Mrs. Whitley to Davenport. Reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 160.

Mrs. David Perry Hart, not signed but attributed by Mrs. Whitley to Davenport. Reproduction in *Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture,* page 163.

Mrs. John Miller [Elizabeth Jones Goodloe]; owned by Mrs. Edward Virgin, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

George Washington, full-length portrait in the Old Capitol Building, Frankfort, Kentucky. Davenport assisted Oliver Frazer with this painting.

Robert Washington, 30 by 36 inches; owned by the Fisher estate, Danville.

INDIANA PORTRAITS—At Spring Mill State Park, a restored pioneer village near Spencer, Indiana, some of Davenport's work is on exhibit. Paintings shown there and other Davenport portraits done in Indiana have been identified and described by Dr. Peat in *Pioneer Painters of Indiana.* They are, in chronological order:

1850 Robert and Elizabeth White Logan, painted at Algiers, Pike County; last known owner was the late C. E. Logan.

1857 George Dunn, of Bedford; three versions of this portrait are known.

ca. 1857 Four portraits of the Hamer family: Henry T. and Mary Ellen (Lemon) Hamer and their sons George Volney and William Francis, painted at Mitchell; now at Spring Mill State Park.

Two portraits of the Lemon family: Dr. Jacob M. and Mary Ellen Lemon, painted at Mitchell; now at Spring Mill State Park. Mrs. Lemon's portrait is reproduced in Peat's *Pioneer Painters of Indiana,* Plate 28.

Abner Alexander, painted at Fort Wayne.

1873 William M. and Mary Ritter Franklin, painted at Spencer; now in the home of Mrs. George Moore, Spencer.

Thomas H. Jameson and his wife Anna Rhoades, "the latter painted from a photograph after her death" painted at Indianapolis; both now owned by Mrs. James Drummond, Indianapolis.

OTHER DAVENPORT PAINTINGS:

1835 Head of Italian girl, signed "After Guido." See *ante,* page 251; formerly in the possession of Davenport's

great-granddaughter, Mrs. J. N. Russell, now owned by the Haggerty family of Los Angeles, California.

1860 John Brown, 22 by 27 inches owned by Wilmer Davenport Byran, of Shelton, Washington, the artist's great-grandson. This canvas was commissioned by one of Brown's sons and may have been done from a photograph. However, the finished portrait was refused on completion and has been retained by the heirs.

Davenport was evidently an admirer of Brown, for he wrote on the back of the canvas: "A Martyr to the Cause of Freedom John Brown, who was hung at Harper's Ferry, Va., December 21, 1859 agd. 63 years. Painted by P. H. Davenport 1860."[53]

n.d. Eliza Bohannon Davenport; owned by Mary May White (Mrs. Milburn Judson White), Mt. Carmel, Illinois.

Elizabeth Tadlock Davenport; owned by Amos Davenport Showers Wood, Benton, Illinois.

Patrick Henry Davenport (self-portrait); owned by Mary May White (Mrs. Milburn Judson White), Mt. Carmel, Illinois; see front cover of this issue.

Brig. Gen. Richard Davenport; owned by Amos Davenport Showers Wood, Benton, Illinois, the artist's great grandson.

Crayon drawing, done for Davenport's friend W. V. Scyoc; and now in the Scyoc home, Sumner, Illinois.

Other members of the family who own portraits done by Davenport, the subjects of which are unknown to the writer, are: Miss Mary Eliza Davenport, Olympia, Washington; Mrs. R. L. Johnson, Seattle, Washington; Richard H. Bryan, Port Angeles, Washington, and Mrs. Helen Haggerty, Los Angeles, California.

It is certain that other portraits done by Davenport are still in existence, but their whereabouts is unknown to the writer.

53. Mary Eliza Davenport to writer, April 7, 1957.

Robert G. Ingersoll — Illinois' "Pagan Prophet."

Espy Williams — once called "The South's Leading Dramatist" — ca. 1890.

PAUL T. NOLAN

A Southerner's Tribute To Illinois' "Pagan Prophet"

Dr. Paul T. Nolan is associate professor of English at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette. A native of Rochester, New York, he took his graduate work in American and English drama at Tulane University. He has written extensively for both scholarly and popular journals and is presently editing another of Espy Williams' plays for publication by the Press of Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

ROBERT GREEN INGERSOLL, the Illinois "Pagan Prophet," holds a paradoxical position in the history of nineteenth-century American thought. One of the country's most popular public speakers, he championed the most unpopular subjects. A political spokesman for "McKinley Republicanism," American imperialism and laissez-faire social and economic rule, still he was the darling of the liberals, the socialist-minded, the internationalists.[1] Now, with the discovery of the "lost manuscripts" of Espy Williams,[2] once

1. I am indebted to C. H. Cramer's *Royal Bob: The Life of Robert G. Ingersoll* (New York, 1952) for this interpretation of Ingersoll.

2. Espy Williams (1852 - 1908) was the author of over thirty plays which were produced throughout America and in England. Although he achieved considerable popularity around the turn of the century, when he had as many as eight plays being produced at the same time, he has been largely forgotten for the last half-century. Recently, however, his daughter turned over to the Southwestern Louisiana Institute library, Lafayette, La., a considerable number of his manuscripts, including the original copies of many of his plays, printed copies of others, a diary, letters, and notes. This collection, including the manuscript of *The Atheist,* forms the basis of the present study, and unless otherwise noted, all the information concerning Williams is based on this material.

labeled "The South's Leading Dramatist,"[3] the paradox of Ingersoll's reputation grows. Although Ingersoll attacked the South with the full arsenal of his verbal guns, he was the man selected by the South's "leading dramatist" as the model for the hero in a play called *The Atheist*. The play itself was dedicated to Ingersoll, but this fact, if ever widely known, has long been forgotten, since the only readily available copies of the work do not carry the author's dedication. The rediscovery of the original manuscript and the light which it throws on Ingersoll's reputation are the justification for its republication, almost seventy years after it was written and, until now, forgotten.

Much of Ingersoll's general popularity in America in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was, of course, due to his ardent defense of Republicanism. As Harry T. Peck pointed out at the time of Ingersoll's death, "Colonel Ingersoll delivered his attacks on Christianity before audiences made up in part, at least, of intelligent, serious-minded, influential men and women," men and women who approved of his statements on politics. "The political partisan had won a hearing for the professional agnostic."[4] C. H. Cramer sums up the problem faced by these partisan Republicans:

> Would his Christian Republican friends, who admired Ingersoll the Stalwart in campaign years, resort to billingsgate again when Ingersoll the Agnostic took the platform after the political canvass was over? Most of them found it impolitic to do so . . . after 1876. Solid Republicans . . . found it expedient to put in a token appear-

3. In making this claim for Williams, *The Daily* (New Orleans) *Picayune,* of Aug. 29, 1908, lists one qualification. Williams, it is argued, is unquestionably first unless one includes Henry Guy Charleton in the southern ranks, and "if Henry Guy Charleton is classed as a Southerner, Mr. Williams ranks unquestionably with him and with the principal playwrights of his day in the American Republic."

4. Harry T. Peck, *What Is Good English? and Other Essays* (New York, 1899), 235.

ance when he appeared during off-election years to discuss science and religion on his regular cross-country tours.[5]

Some of Ingersoll's popularity, especially with writers and artists, was the result of his defense of free thought. Walt Whitman, for example, disagreed with most of his pronouncements on domestic politics and foreign affairs.[6] Yet he attended when Ingersoll spoke, and described Ingersoll as a "master pilgrim" who, with Huxley, "could unhorse the whole Christian giant."[7] Ingersoll was often praised by men who disagreed with his politics, such men as Vice-President Adlai Stevenson, Hamlin Garland, Edgar Lee Masters, and Mark Twain.[8] The latter, for example, felt so kindly toward the Illinois pagan that when he received word of Ingersoll's death, he wrote to Miss Eva Farrell, Ingersoll's niece, "Except my daughter's, I have not grieved for any death as I have grieved for his. His was a great and beautiful spirit, he was a man – all man from his crown to his foot soles. My reverence for him was deep and genuine; I prized his affection for me and returned it with usury."[9] As this letter indicates, Ingersoll's reputation with such men as Twain and Whitman rested, in part, at least on his affection for them; but unless the man also meant something, his approval would not have.

Ingersoll's appeal to Republicans and liberals cannot,

5. Cramer, *Royal Bob,* 16. Cramer points out that when Ingersoll had been a Democrat, the Republican press had attacked him as a "poor, miserable, whiskey-soaked, tobacco-bedaubed, illiterate, blasphemous, red-faced atheist."

6. For an account of Whitman's basic disagreement with Ingersoll's scientific stand, see Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned and Horace L. Traubel, eds., *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (New York, 1902), IV: 38-40. For a summary of Whitman's political position, see the Introduction, *ibid.,* I: xxx-xxxii.

7. Quoted in Cramer, *Royal Bob,* 125.

8. *Ibid.,* 65, 72, 261, 265.

9. Albert Bigelow Paine, ed., *Mark Twain's Letters* (New York, 1917), II: 682.

however, have been the basis of his appeal to Espy Williams. Williams was neither a Republican nor, in matters of religion or letters, basically a liberal. Born in New Orleans in 1852 of parents of northeastern origin, Williams was a Southerner both by birth and sympathy. Even later in life, when his success as a playwright made friends suggest to him that he follow the steps of his friend, George Washington Cable, and move north, Williams prefered to remain at home. Moreover, although Williams was only a boy at the time of the Civil War and not in sympathy with slavery, the war cost him the two things he prized most, education and a full dedication to letters. The financial difficulties which his family faced because of the war forced Williams to withdraw from school at the age of sixteen, when he was within one term of graduation from the New Orleans high school, to enter business life. Even though he was successful as a New Orleans financier,[10] he remained committed to literature, and even on his deathbed busied himself with trying to complete a drama, obviously intended to be his *magnum opus.*[11]

Williams, of course, shared some tastes with Ingersoll. A part of the Illinoisan's charm was that he was so catholic in his tastes that it was almost impossible for a civilized man not to share some of them. Like Ingersoll, Williams was strongly influenced by Shakespeare. Like Ingersoll, who was

10. On July 23, 1896, according to an Associated Press story from Philadelphia, Williams opened the session of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations with an address, "The Safeguard of American Finances." In the address, Williams forecast that the time was not far distant when "the bonded debt of the United States will be held, not by foreign capitalists, but by the American citizen." The *Daily* (New Orleans) *Picayune,* July 24, 1896, ran the complete text of the speech.

11. The handwritten single draft of this play, *Marlowe: The Buried Name,* has been edited and will be published in 1959 by the Southwestern Louisiana Institute Press, Lafayette, La.

enough attracted by the stage to be flattered by proposals that he become an actor, Williams, too, loved the theater. Moreover, Williams, like Ingersoll, was the product of a stern religious background; and although he reacted to the extent that he never held regular church membership, he was not anti-religious and encouraged his children to take active roles in church work. Williams, in fact, looked upon the church as a worthy place for the support of values, and in one of his unpublished addresses, "A Union of the Church and Stage," he suggested that if the theater would take a more active interest in religion and if the church would take a more active interest in theater, both would profit. Like Ingersoll, too, Williams was sympathetic to the Jews. In adapting F. Marion Crawford's novel *The Witch of Prague* for the stage, Williams, for example, not only rooted out Crawford's anti-Semitism, but transformed it into a pro-Jewish idea. In the novel, Kafka, a Jew, with the help of the Jewish community – pictured as violent and selfish people – poses a threat to the leading character. But in Williams' adaptation, *Unorna,* Kafka is a Christian, and the Jewish community is pictured as gentle and generous. Its support, in fact, is what saves the leading character from the Christians led by Kafka.

As a Southerner, of course, Williams could not have helped being offended by Ingersoll's attacks on all things Southern. Although he was not much concerned with politics, Williams surely must have identified himself with those under attack in Ingersoll's famous speech on the nature of the Democratic Party:

> Recollect that the Democratic party did all the things of which I have told you. . . . Recollect that this Democratic party was false to the Union . . . recollect that the Democratic party was false to

your country when your husbands, your brothers, your fathers, and your sons were lying in the prison pens of the South, with no covering but the clouds, with no bed but the frozen earth, with no food except such as worms had refused to eat, and with no friends except Insanity and Death.[12]

Both as a Southerner, who remembered from childhood that Union soldiers had fared better than his family, and as a banker, anxious to establish the South as a full partner in the nation, Williams would have been forced to object to Ingersoll's waving of the "bloody shirt."

His reaction to this and similar attacks by Ingersoll was not, however, a typical Southern reaction. Although Williams was a defender of Jefferson Davis,[13] whose pardon Ingersoll had helped to block, the Southern writer did not react like a Confederate die-hard. Although Williams believed in the maintenance of the *status quo* for Negroes,[14] he did not become a reactionary like the Texas iconoclast William Brann, who suggested that a day should be taken off to kill each member of "that accursed race that declines to leave the country."[15] Although Williams believed in the usefulness of the church, he did not attack those who disa-

12. Robert G. Ingersoll, *Fifty Great Selections* . . . (C. P. Farrell, comp.; New York, 1920), 172-73. Among other things, Ingersoll also accused the Democratic Party in the South of attempting to spread smallpox and yellow fever in New York and of burning an orphan asylum; *ibid.*, 160.

13. In *The Dream of Art and Other Poems* (New York, 1892), the same volume in which *The Atheist* was published, he wrote a poem to Davis (p. 20) which in part was a challenge to Ingersoll, the partisan Republican: "Oh ye whose wanton, fruitless hatred still/ Sought to destroy his peace of life. . . ."

14. In *Ollamus: King of Utopiana,* a comic opera written by Williams in 1894 and produced in New Orleans, a Negro character is taken to Utopia by a "liberal" as a part of a plan to stir up trouble in Paradise. In revising the opera in 1901, however, under the title of *The Royal Joke,* which was produced by the Metropolitan English Opera Company, Williams dropped the Negro character — a deletion perhaps suggestive of a change in attitude.

15. Quoted in Cramer, *Royal Bob,* 95.

greed, as did the Georgia minister, Sam Jones, who called Ingersoll "the devil's dynamo."[16]

Rather, as *The Atheist* shows, Williams looked past "the poses" of the Illinois agnostic to what he considered to be the heart of the man himself. *The Atheist* was dedicated to Ingersoll, but it is more than a play written *for* a man. The hero of the play, modeled after Ingersoll, is a man whose tongue cuts against every man's beliefs, but whose purse is open to every man's needs. Ingersoll himself might be describing his own paradoxical position when the hero speaks, "I came to be a thing abhorred, though loved." And the Lady's judgment of the Atheist's life, "Thou preached no standard, save by acts, all good . . . Thy way was everywhere bestrewn with blessings . . . By all those, who, despite thy branded name, Knew thee a messenger of God," is similar to those made about Ingersoll. The *Rochester* (New York) *Democrat,* for example, once wrote of Ingersoll: "Robert G. Ingersoll is not orthodox in theory, but we should like to see a better Christian in practice."[17]

Extending Christian charity even to those opposed to Christianity is not, of course, new; but it was unique in nineteenth-century American drama. In casting *The Atheist* in the form of the old morality play, Williams was, moreover, making minor theater history, for his use of the form anticipated both the revival of *Everyman* in New York in the late 1890's and the modern use of the form in such plays as T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral,* Leonid Andreyev's *The Life of Man,* and Irwin Shaw's *Bury the Dead.* The significance of Williams' use of the morality play is not limited to the resurrection of a literary form, however, but is

16. *Quit Your Meanness: Sermons and Sayings of Rev. Sam. P. Jones of Georgia* (Cincinnati, 1886).

17. Quoted in Cramer, *Royal Bob,* 144.

a measure of the dramatist's respect for Ingersoll. Williams is apparently suggesting that in a living religion in which dogma and the practice are wedded, it is the whole man and not merely his statements on dogma that must be judged. In arriving at such a conclusion, Williams did not have to look beyond his model, Ingersoll, whose life and actions often reminded antagonistic ministers of their own lack of Christian charity.

What influenced Williams to select Ingersoll as his hero is difficult to determine. Certainly it was not a politic choice for a Southern businessman; perhaps the removal of the play's dedication to Ingersoll was due to the author's second thoughts on the social wisdom of such a dedication. Williams was undoubtedly influenced by Ingersoll's reputation among "respectable" people. The two men, moreover, had many mutual friends. Ingersoll, for example, was a friend and legal advisor of Lawrence Barrett, the actor, whose funeral oration he delivered.[18] Barrett was one of the first professional theater people to help Williams in his playwriting, and at the time of the actor's death in 1891, Williams was at work on a romantic play, *Dante,* which Barrett had intended to act in and produce. Julia Marlowe, the actress, was a close friend of the Ingersolls,[19] and she, too, had helped Williams in his professional theater career. Williams was a man of intense loyalty to his friends and could not have helped but feel kindly toward those who aided his friends.

What probably most influenced Williams to look upon Ingersoll as a kind of "unorthodox saint," however, was neither Ingersoll's reputation as a public orator nor his reputation as a protector of the arts. It was rather the reputa-

18. *Ibid.,* 151.

19. *Ibid.,* 254-55.

tion which the Illinois lawyer had made as a family man. Williams, himself, placed his literary interests ahead of his business interests, just as Ingersoll placed his "public duties" ahead of his legal practice; but both men placed their families ahead of all else. It is interesting to note that both had families made up largely of women.

The Atheist is not so much a play about religious dogma as it is a play about the religious fervor of man's love for woman, and as such it reflects the personal views of both its author and the man whose life suggested its hero. It might, in fact, be looked upon as a religious-poetic drama of the symbolic life of Robert Green Ingersoll. The language used throughout the play reflects both Ingersoll's philosophy and diction; and the salvation of the hero through the love of a good woman is, obviously, Williams' reading of the salvation of Ingersoll.

The failure of historians and biographers to note the play and its relationship to Ingersoll is not strange. Williams first published *The Atheist* as a separate play, and it had only a limited edition in New Orleans. Later, when it was republished in Williams' volume of verse *The Dream of Art and Other Poems,* the dedication to Ingersoll was dropped, and the play itself was glossed over. In examining reviews of Williams' book, for example, I could find only one that even mentioned the play. The copy of the play which follows is based on the edition in *The Dream of Art and Other Poems,*[20] with slight changes in punctuation to make easier reading:

20. The only extant copy of the first edition of *The Atheist,* published some time after 1890 but before 1892, is in the New York Public Library. Less than a dozen copies of the second edition, a part of *The Dream of Art and Other Poems,* are known to exist.

The Atheist

A Modern Masque

by ESPY WILLIAMS

Scene: Christmas Eve—The Atheist's Chambers, overlooking the city, The Atheist alone.

CHORUS OF DEVILS, IN HELL.

Thou unvanquished, though defeated, Spirit infinite of light,
Still in every bosom seated, Throned in never yielding might;
Fallen, still of Heaven's greatest, Thou too wear'st a martyr's crown,
And Time's earliest and latest vie to echo thy renown.

The Atheist: The usurper, the victorious, self-appointed Lord of all,
Boasts no victory so glorious, as the battle of thy fall:
For of angels thou wert brightest, for thy works most splendid shone,
For thy votaries' hearts were lightest, and thy priests were full thine own.
His be then the boasted glory, Thine the glory of the gain,
His the far re-echoed story, Thine, the silent, secret reign!
Though of earth all kind adore Him, praise as good the woes he gave,
Every cringing soul before Him is in secret thy sworn slave.
And this is life, a little while to feel
Kind Nature's sweets, then be resolved in nothing!
Lost even in an unseen respiration,
Less than the echo of a whispered sigh;
And while we live, live only to acquire
A growing sense of our own littleness,
Till we become a jest unto ourselves,
A wreck, self-ridiculed and self-despised.
Our span of being is a little more
Than the bright butterfly's—our happiness
Much less—and that the only difference.
All that has beautiful being, and the sense

To feel and to enjoy, can boast more bliss
Than man, who boasts the power of thought,
And calls himself the lord of earthly kind.
Why should not man then rather be a beast
And grovel in contentment, than be thus
Winged with the aspirations of a god
To soar, however high, to discontent?
(*Church bells heard ringing through the city.*)
The bells, for midnight Mass. Alas, poor man,
Whose final, only consolation is a myth
Wrought deftly from his own conceit and pride;
A tale of superstition told so oft
It hath become the semblance of a truth
Inwrought indelibly into himself.

(*As he pours out wine in a glass, there enters, unseen, one shrouded in a priest's gown and cowl, who, as he is about to drink, speaks.*)

The Priest: Drink not, save from the chalice of His blood!

The Atheist: (*Starting, putting down the glass.*) How came ye, priest? and whence? and wherefore? speak.

The Priest: By that straight path that leads to those who need,
From One who wills ye good, perchance for good.

The Atheist: (*Laughing.*) A thousand times I have heard such like words,
And still a thousand times been left unchanged.
Your tests, your arguments, I have heard all,
Yes, preached them to myself with will attent,
Yet ever to their condemnation: all.
There is no God, who, merciful, condemns:
No righteous One, who makes but to destroy.
From nothing, from a never-dying law
We come, and thence to nothing we return;
And they go first who violate that law
And suffer its unfailing execution.
This much alone man knows. Priests know not more.

A Voice: (*Passing in the street below, singing:*)

Once in the life of every heart, pure, steadfast, strangely bright,
The star of Bethlehem shines out upon its lonely night;
And, startled from its shepherd watch, the sleepy soul enthrills
With a new life, about to be, the new-born end of ills.

The Priest: "Once in the life of every heart. . . ." And thine?
You pause. You turn away.

The Atheist: Question not, priest.
The deeds entombed within the past are dust,
Like ashes of dead men, unlike themselves,
And no one seeks in them their living likeness.

A Maiden: (*Singing*) Deep in the ocean's deep the purest pearls are found;
Deep in the dark earth's keep the richest gems abound;
But deeper hidden than these, and priceless far above,
Deep in the heart's sweet mysteries, lies hid the jewel, love.

The Priest: Love only lives within celestial soil;
And he who loves hears heaven within his breast,
Although in ignorance.

The Atheist: Priest, once I too
Thought love an attribute divine, and lent
To mortals to make sordid life more sweet,
And tempt them heavenward by foretaste of heaven.
But I was new to life then, and I loved.
'Twas like a dream of childhood's peaceful sleep,
Full of bright stranger beauties. There still lives
Within my heart the memory of its sunshine,
But there, too, lives the greater memory still,
Of the black thunder-cloud that wrought its ruin.
We had been raised together, boy and girl.
And all our childhood whims grew counterparts,
Until our years were ripe for flower and fruit.
Then she . . . she was shut out from life, from joy,
Within a convent's wall, while I went forth

Into the busy, battling world of men,
To gain man's heritage of strife and scar.
When next we met, I was a bearded man,
And she. . . . I had seen many fair, and some
Accounted beautiful above the rest.
But she excelled them all. Something there seemed
About her that bespoke not earth, but heaven,
And won my mad idolatry at sight.
'Twas then my dream of love was; and it lasted
Until your God—yes, your God—stepped between us;
Weighed me, and found me wanting in the scale
Of cant, hypocrisy, pretense to things
Which truth and manhood could not dare profess,
Yet which His priesthood held for blind belief,
For faith unquestioned, from a thoughtless crowd.
'Twas then my dream fled, for she had been won
By such as you, whose subtle mastery
Poisoned her heart against me, till at last
I came to be a thing abhorred, though loved,
An evil spirit doomed to lasting hell,
Unless, good, simple soul, her prayers could save me,
Her life of cloistered penitence wash out
My sins. So much I trusted, loved her then,
That even I was shaken, and in fear
Half-doubted for myself. But time and facts
Dispelled all doubts and fears. Her life was wrecked,
Full-freighted with youth's bountiful desires,
Upon the rocks of blind, fanatic faith.
Her life was lost, her womanhood discarded,
Her end and place in nature unfulfilled,
Her very being a self-created void.

The Priest: No, not so. For behold . . . . (*Throws off the robe and cowl and discovers a beautiful woman.*)

The Atheist: (*Starting up.*) In this enchantment?
Thou, thou of whom I have been speaking, here?

The Lady: Yes, here in flesh and blood, in womanhood.
Here from the nunnery to be thy bride,
Nay, more than that, thy guiding, saving angel,
To lead thee to a knowledge of thyself,
And show thee how, despite thy scoffs,
Thy vaunted infidelity to faith,
Thou art at heart a very child of God.
Speak not. Hear me. Within the convent walls
My life passed idly day by day in prayer
For thee, and all was lost in thoughts of thee.
Think not that there, though shut up from the world,
The world can enter not to those who seek it.
So, every day, something I heard of thee:
Heard of thy jeers and scoffs at things called holy,
Thy unrepentant sacrilege, and most
Thy shameless jests on such as I was there.
But, too, I heard, how all thy deeds to man
Were fraught with greatest good; how in thy life
Thou preached no standard, save by acts, all good;
How, singled from thy kind as a lost soul,
Doomed by the Church to its eternal hell,
Instead of shunnings, curses, and damnations,
Thy way was everywhere bestrewn with blessings,
The fruits of thy own sowing, lavished on thee
By who, all those, despite thy branded name,
Knew thee a messenger of God, of Him
Whose life is love, whose love is still to do.
What was I then compared with thee? Nothing.
In all my days of prayer, not one stood forth
Crowned with a living act of good, not one
For sorrow eased, for trouble comforted.
Then in my heart, the star of Bethlehem
Rose steadfast, pure, and strangely bright, and in
My soul I felt the quickening of new life;
And, led as were the shepherds on that night
Of old, I followed till the star stood still
Above thy threshold, here above my head.

The Atheist: Hast thou then broken faith, forsworn thy vows,
To seek, to follow me, the branded one?
The Lady: I have forsworn no vows. The Church that took them,
True to its aim, its purpose still for best,
Returns me to the world and to myself.
Nor have I broken, have I lost my faith,
But have gained greater faith, the faith to do.
(*Voices of children passing, heard singing "Christmas Carols" in the Street below.*)

Chorus of Devils, In Hell.

Like a dream forever lost in the caverns of sleep,
Like a jewel far tossed in the depths of the deep,
Like an arrow's lost flight,
Like a meteor's lost light,
Each hope that ye cherish,
Be it born but to perish.
Like a rock rent asunder by an earthquake's thunder,
Like a ship storm-driven in darkness rock-riven,
Like the cleft semi-note in a murdered bird's throat,
Like music death-hushed
Like a diamond crushed,
May your hearts with fine pain
Be tortured in twain.

The End

WILLIAM A. PITKIN

When Cairo Was Saved For the Union

An associate professor of American history at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, William A. Pitkin is also a director of the Illinois State Historical Society. He has been a frequent contributor to this Journal, *his most recent article having been "Shelby M. Cullom: Presidential Prospect" in the Winter 1956 issue.*

THE ACTUAL opening of hostilities in 1861 with the attack on Fort Sumter brought a sharp reaction in Illinois. Governor Richard Yates moved quickly and decisively to secure for the Union the strategic point of Cairo at the juncture of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, the southernmost extremity of the state.[1] Several companies of infantry and one of artillery under the command of General Richard Swift were quickly dispatched by rail from Chicago to Cairo, where they were soon joined by other Illinois troops.[2]

Illinois drew nationwide praise for thus performing a "duty that she could not safely nor honorably neglect."[3] Opinion in the state Senate, however, was critical of the Governor's course. In reply to a Senate resolution demand-

1. Alfred T. Mahan, *The Gulf and Inland Waters* (*The Navy in the Civil War,* III; New York, 1883), 9.

2. *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], April 24, 1861.

3. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 23, 1861; [Katharine Prescott Wormeley], *The United States Sanitary Commission* . . . (Boston, 1863), 153.

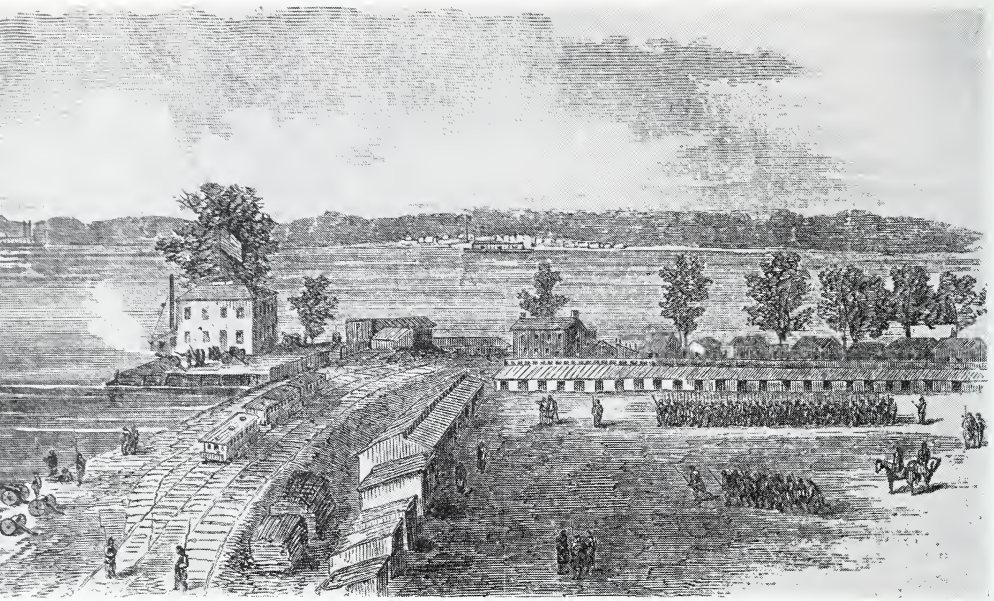
ing an explanation, Governor Yates declared that "the transfer of part of the volunteer forces of this State to the city of Cairo was made in compliance with an order of the War Department. . . . Simultaneously with the receipt of the order reliable information reached me of the existence of a conspiracy by disaffected persons in other States to seize upon Cairo and the southern portion of the Illinois Central R.R., and cut off communication with the interior of the State."[4] Fortunately, the one man able to do the most, by his example, to sway public opinion in that portion of Illinois commonly called Egypt, made his decision to support the Union at any cost. This man was John A. Logan, then a congressman, who convinced the fence-sitters that secession was evil.[5]

Rumors of prospective rebel attacks on Cairo were widespread. Many western newspapers reported that forces were gathering at Columbus, Paducah and other points in Kentucky, and at New Madrid in Missouri, for an attack on the Illinois volunteers at Cairo. Columbus was the "Gibraltar of the West"; here a heavy chain, with torpedoes attached, stretched across the Mississippi.[6] The *Louisville* (Kentucky) *Journal* reported intelligence of rebel preparations in Kentucky and Tennessee. "That such an attempt [on Cairo] is contemplated . . . there can be, we presume, no doubt." These preparations were "known to thousands." Strong unionist sentiment appeared as an offsetting factor. A petition circulating in "Louisville and elsewhere" urged

4. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 147-48; *Chi. Daily Trib.,* April 26, 1861.

5. Mrs. John A. Logan, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife: An Autobiography* (New York, 1913), 89; *Harper's Weekly,* VII (June 13, 1863): 369; *Alton Telegraph,* Sept. 20, 1861.

6. *New York Times,* June 18, 1861; *Jonesboro Gazette,* Jan. 18, 1862.



"Cairo and its vicinity, Illinois, looking south from the St. Charles Hotel." — From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, *June 8, 1861.*

Governor Beriah Magoffin to forbid by proclamation the organization in Kentucky of any force whose purpose was to launch an attack against Cairo. The real danger, however, lay not in Kentucky but with the "madcap Gen. Gideon J. Pillow, of Tennessee, who is in charge of the Memphis division . . . [and] might precipitate a conflict at Cairo." The United States War Department, much concerned over General Pillow's activities, determined to make Cairo impregnable.[7]

Within a few weeks after the firing on Fort Sumter, the military experts at Cairo were said to have no fear of a successful attack on the city; it could be made impregnable, they said, if the heavy ordnance, "momentarily expected," should arrive. One observer noted that "five distinct batteries" already in place had a "sweep of three miles on the

7. *N.Y. Times,* May 8, 1861.

Mississippi and two miles on the Ohio." The heavy ordnance, "when it arrives, will be planted as to command Bird's Point, on the Missouri side, the only practicable site for batteries to operate against Cairo."[8] Rumors continued to circulate. General Pillow well knew Cairo's power to defend itself. "Zouave" reported to the *New York Times* that nearly 6,000 sturdy men, "tolerably well armed," were ready to meet an attack and would give "warmer work than the rebels desire." Many steamers were then (May, 1861) passing Cairo with fugitives from rebel-dom, "all . . . satisfied to get into a free State."[9]

In the meantime, however, St. Louis dispatches, proclaiming Cairo's imminent peril, caused great alarm in Washington. General Winfield Scott ordered "the fortification of the *heights* at Cairo, commanding Bird's Point." The General's knowledge of Cairo terrain was faulty. "The most elevated natural point in Cairo is not sixteen inches above high water, and can no more command Bird's Point than it can command the moon." A critical problem in any defense of Cairo was the fact that during high water the only approach by land was over the narrow causeway of the Illinois Central Railroad, and this causeway might be "swept and enfiladed" by an enemy. This observation ignored the intention of the military to plant all artillery on the levees.[10]

News of the dispatch of troops from Chicago had created great excitement in Cairo. A Cairo correspondent for a Springfield newspaper, who signed his stories "Juvenis," wrote:

8. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1861.
9. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1861.
10. *Ibid.*, May 13, 24, 1861; *Cairo City Gazette,* July 18, 1861. Regular passenger service was maintained on the Illinois Central Railroad throughthe Civil War; *Jonesboro Gazette,* Sept. 14, 1861.

Our usually quiet and peaceable community was thrown into a perfect paroxysm of excitement . . . at the announcement by the telegraph that a large force of troops were to arrive here on the night train. . . . The crowd began to collect [at the depot] at a little after dark . . . [and] when the whistle blew . . . about a mile above the town our people became almost wild from excitement. As the train neared the depot the truth of the report became apparent, and from there to St. Charles depot thousands of cheers rose up bidding the volunteers a hearty welcome.[11]

In the midst of this excitement the rumor went the rounds that Tennessee rebels were coming down the Cumberland and were moving toward Jackson County, Illinois, where they intended to destroy the Big Muddy bridge of the Illinois Central Railroad (already under guard). Since such rumors strained the credulity of many people, the Springfield paper explained that its correspondent "Juvenis" was "one of the oldest and most respected residents" of Cairo and was well acquainted in Kentucky and Tennessee. A keen anticipation of a rebel attack on Cairo was to linger among the resident of the city until the Union victory at Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh), April 6-7, 1862.[12]

The actual degree of Cairo's danger cannot be ascertained. Generals Pillow and Leonidas Polk, possibly with the aid of Jeff Thompson, would no doubt have seized their opportunity and captured Cairo if United States and Illinois authorities had not moved quickly. The only real, immediate danger to Cairo, however, lay within the city itself, where a disloyal element planned to cut the levee. The prompt arrival of Chicago troops saved the day. The "ruffians" who would have prevented loyal troops from occupying Cairo were

11. *Ill. State Jour.*, April 30, 1861.

12. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1861; Mary A. Livermore, *My Story of the War* . . . (Hartford, Conn., 1888), 103; Charles W. Wills, *Army Life of an Illinois Soldier* . . . (Washington, 1906), 8.

wharf rats and mud wollopers, [who] seemed to have plenty of money, but not occupation, except to frequent the innumerable drinking saloons on the levee, and hurrah for Jeff. Davis. . . . Many who consider themselves respectable men, residents here, were heard to declare that rather than have the place occupied by Federal troops, they would head a mob to tear up the railroad track burn the bridges, and if needs [*sic*] be, open the levee, and destroy the town. These men, who seemed inflamed at the advent of our troops, are now Union men, and join heartily in every measure to sustain our Government, even in the most ultra coercive measures to put down the rebellion; and this change of sentiment has diffused itself through the entire Southern portion of the State, which seemed but a few weeks since anxious and right willing to join hands with Jeff. Davis and his vile crew.[13]

The Federal Army deserved the credit for this transformation; no reign of terror came with the occupation; the rights of citizens were respected. The town "has not been so orderly and quiet for years. Thus, by the conception and prompt execution of this *coup de main,* Illinois is saved from civil war, and the people in its length and breadth are a united people – for the glorious old flag."[14] Cairo's own newspaper, the *City Gazette,* regretted the necessity that brought Illinois troops to the city but nevertheless welcomed them "with open arms."

The editor, a realist, neatly portrayed the dilemma of the community. He wrote:

> Nearly two thousand men, with ten pieces of artilery [*sic*], were here yesterday [April 24, 1861], and have encamped on the Commons below the St. Charles Hotel. More troops are expected daily and hourly. . . . Much as we deplore the movement, and its consequent effect on our town and its business, no Illinoisan can condemn it. If the United States had not stationed a force here, there is good reason to believe that the South would have done so; and if there *must* be a military occupation of our town, as a

13. *Chi. Daily Trib.,* May 14, 1861. 14. *Ibid.*

matter of course we should wish it to be done by the goverment to which we are attached.[15]

Thereafter, the potential menace to Cairo faded rapidly with the concentration of large numbers of troops and the construction of fortifications, armed with heavy cannon. As a military rendezvous Cairo remained vastly important. The *New York Times,* of June 8, 1861, reported 6,000 Union troops at Cairo and Villa Ridge, and a total of 38,811 men within twenty-four hours of Cairo. This number included the troops at other Illinois camps, at St. Louis, and 5,000 in Indiana.

As late as June 21, however, a dispatch to the *Chicago Evening Journal* said that General Pillow, with an army "from 10,000 to 30,000," was preparing to attack Cairo, and Chicago citizens read, "Battle Expected at Cairo."[16] The *New York Times* had already said editorially, on June 12, that the "telegraphic rumors" of aggressive designs on Cairo by the "renowned trench-digger and braggart, Pillow" were without foundation; however, the importance of Cairo was second only to that of Washington, so that rumors about the Illinois city, however ill-founded, remained newsworthy. To hold Cairo was to have command of the upper Mississippi; offensively, the city was the key in the West to the conquest of the Confederacy; at the same time, the "geography and topography" of the city exposed it to attack. From Bird's Point, on the Missouri shore, Cairo "could be easily demolished by the artillery of the enemy." The *Times* flatly said, however, that since Union troops had occupied Bird's Point, "Cairo . . . is now impregnable." Nearly 12,000 troops in and around the city at that time were be-

15. *Cairo City Gazette,* April 25, 1861.

16. *N.Y. Times,* June 21, 1861.

lieved more than adequate for any contingency.[17] The editor of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* said on August 9 that Cairo had never been in danger. Notwithstanding this feeling of military supremacy, a sense of insecurity lingered. Writing from Cairo's Camp Defiance, the *Times* correspondent may have mirrored the chafing among the soldiers when he wrote, "We are occupying a position strategetically [*sic*] offensive. . . . it seems to us that the Government is wasting time *here,* whatever it may be doing in Virginia. In fact, our superiors seem almost unconscious of our existence. . . . Gen. McClelland [*sic*] . . . seems to have his attention entirely occupied in other directions." This discontent may have been due to nothing more than the "summer heats [that] are even now upon us." A Mississippi Valley campaign in the summer of 1861 was the dream of the correspondent, and probably of the soldiers as well; but military machinery was too cumbersome, and the great drive in the West would not come until 1862.[18]

The Confederacy was well aware of Cairo's strategic position. A Memphis paper called Cairo the capital of modern Egypt and predicted that it would be "the scene of the first great battle between the North and the South."[19] The *Chicago Tribune* urged stronger measures to secure Cairo against any contingency and warned the Governor not to wait for orders from Washington before moving. This same paper cautioned:

> We might a fortnight ago have been charged only with carelessness if the allies of the New Dahomey had been permitted to raise the rattlesnake banner there in advance of any State movement; but now . . . we should be criminal to neglect [Cairo]. . . . The control over the two rivers . . . by our boys, and the

17. *Ibid.,* June 12, 1861.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ill. State Jour.,* May 4, 1861, quoting the *Memphis Avalanche.*

> consequent loss of arms and ammunition upon which the traitors depend . . . have excited Memphis, Paducah, Columbus, and other missionary stations thereabout.[20]

Another view commonly held was that the Confederacy was dependent on the North for foodstuffs; the rebels must control Cairo to insure the flow of provisions. The two great battles of the war, it was believed, would be fought at Washington and at Cairo.[21]

When Illinois troops first arrived, the critical point to be guarded on the Illinois Central Railroad was the "long wooden bridge eighty feet above the Big Muddy river." Railroad officials in Chicago feared "that the disaffected in that neighborhood were endeavoring to raise a body of men sufficiently large to drive off the infantry company commanded by Capt. [Geza] Mihalotzy." Here Camp Wallace was located (references have been found to "Camp Hayden" at the same place; each detachment stationed at the Big Muddy apparently named its own camp). The Big Muddy site was also useful as a temporary rendezvous. When a cavalry regiment, 1,200 strong, arrived at Bird's Point from Camp Butler (Springfield) on August 30, it was almost at once ordered to the Big Muddy because of the "superior accommodations" there.[22]

The men at Cairo were privileged to enjoy some social life during the early days of the rendezvous. Wives and other members of soldiers' families frequently came to the city. "Cairo is fast becoming, for the local society of Illinois, a place of fashionable resort. The concentration here of the State troops, has naturally brought some of the best elements of masculine society; and as they are perforce

20. *Chi. Daily Trib.*, April 29, 1861. Dahomey was an African Negro kingdom.

21. *Ibid.*, April 26, 29, 1861.

22. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1861.

separated thus from their feminine complements, the latter, in obedience to natural law, follow with their husbands."[23]

General George B. McClellan arrived on June 13 for an inspection; there was a "grand brigade parade and review," with over 6,000 in line. "Tonight a ball is given at the St. Charles in honor of General [Benjamin M.] Prentiss." Whether or not the distinguished visitor remained for the ball was not recorded.[24] But the visiting general was busy; he made the rounds of the area camps, including Camp Hardin at Villa Ridge. General Prentiss was now told that his brigade would be received for the full three-year term of service; that it must form the vanguard of a movement down the Mississippi.[25]

By the end of April, 1861, nearly 1,500 men were stationed at Cairo; a week later the number rose to 3,000. After Colonel (later General) Prentiss, of Quincy, succeed General Swift as commander, he soon made his mark and was widely praised; on May 8, Prentiss was elected brigadier general of the First Brigade of Illinois Volunteers, receiving ninety-two of the ninety-three votes cast for the post.[26] The *Times* said of him, "The position occupied by General Prentiss is one requiring a union of qualities very rarely combined in one person. Isolated from sources of sympathy and aid in the Free States – almost surrounded by a hostile population . . . with a camp and fortifications to construct . . . it has required the union of courage, patience, industry and good temper."[27]

General Prentiss' immediate problem was "touchy Ken-

23. *N. Y. Times,* June 8, 1861.
24. *Chi. Daily Trib.,* June 14, 1861.
25. *Ibid.,* June 15, 1861.
26. *Ibid.,* May 9, 18, 1861; J. N. Reece, comp., *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1900), VI: 304.
27. *N.Y. Times,* June 16, 1861.

Benjamin M. Prentiss of Quincy, who preceded Grant as commandant at Cairo.

tucky," where "Secesh" fear of Union power at Cairo inspired snide jibes in the Kentucky press. A fair sample of journalistic diatribe, clipped from the *Columbus* (Kentucky) *Crescent,* expressed the sentiment of one Colonel L. G. Faxon, of the Tennessee Tigers, presumably a regiment:

> There is a man now vegetating at Cairo, by name Prentiss. . . . His qualifications for the command of such a squad of Villains and cutthroats are: — he is a miserable hound, a dirty dog, a sociable fellow, a treacherous villain, a notorious thief, a lying blackguard, has served his regular five years in the penitentiary, and keeps his hide continually full of Cincinnati whisky, which he buys by the barrel to save money. In him are embodied all the leprous rascalities, and in this living sore the gallows has been cheated of its own. This Prentiss wants our scalp. We have no objection to his having it if he can get it; and we will propose a plan by which he may become possessed of that valuable article. It is this: Let him select 150 of his best fighting men, or 250 of the lager-beer Dutchmen, and we will select 100:

> and then both parties meet at a given point, where there will be no interruption of the scalping business, and then the longest pole will knock the "persimmon." If he does not accept this proposal he is a coward. We think the above proposition fair and equal.[28]

The ire of the *Crescent* was heightened by the generous sprinkling of Europeans in the Union brigade.

Among the visitors to Cairo at this time was a future Confederate leader, General Simon B. Buckner, of the Kentucky militia, who came to make polite inquiry concerning the prospect of a Union invasion of Kentucky. Prentiss flatly asserted that he would not allow shipments of arms to Columbus, Kentucky (a suspected spot from the Union standpoint), a few miles down the river from Cairo. Buckner apparently knew in advance that Prentiss would enter into no "hands off" agreement respecting Kentucky and her pretended neutrality; there would be nothing comparable to the infamous truce between General William S. Harney and the rebel General Sterling Price at St. Louis.[29] Buckner must have seen that the opportunity for a successful attack on Cairo was gone. The unyielding policies of Prentiss soon became known to others throughout the South. A leading Kentuckian wrote in pessimistic vein to General "Bishop" Polk that Prentiss had said that, when Union forces entered Kentucky, the people there should "change to Union men or keep their mouths shut."[30]

Another problem faced by General Prentiss was that of building camps and hospitals for the thousands to be trained at Cairo. "Carlos" of the *Chicago Tribune* described the site of the first principal encampment:

> The levee rises above the camp grounds to the height of fifteen

28. *Ibid.,* July 31, 1861.
29. *Chi. Daily Trib.,* May 3, 1861.
30. *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 381.

> or twenty feet, 'brick shot dirt' as it is called down there. . . . It is capable of withstanding an immense amount of cannonading. They have two cannon mounted on the levee. . . . Just opposite on the Missouri shore, rises the highest point of land [Bird's Point] for a great number of miles, and it is there, if anywhere that a fortification could be put up. . . . The current for navigation is nearer that shore than this.[31]

Camp Union was the name given the first military establishment at Cairo, but by May 5, 1861, Camp Defiance became the official designation. The rapid influx into the city and its environs necessitated the construction of several camps to avoid too great a concentration of troops within a limited area. By May 1, there were three camps, "one on the point, one on the Mississippi levee, and one on the Ohio levee – at the saw mill below the mouth of the Cache."[32] By October 1, the area had developed a complex of camps: Fort Holt, directly opposite Cairo on Kentucky soil; Camp Crittenden, six miles below Fort Holt, and Camp Frémont, at Paducah.[33]

That the highly successful Cairo build-up disturbed the Confederates was shown by the *Jackson Mississippian,* which viewed the occupation of the Illinois city as "an audacious movement. . . . It is the key to the upper, as New Orleans . . . [is] to the lower Mississippi." An eastern newspaper, the *Providence* (Rhode Island) *Journal,* could see some humor in the situation: "There were plenty of Secessionists at Cairo, Ill., but the Chicago soldiers came, and brought their artillery. A farmer of that vicinity remarked – 'I tell you what it is, them brass missionaries has converted a heap of folks that was on the anxious seat.' "[34]

31. *Chi. Daily Trib.,* May 2, 1861.

32. *Ibid.,* May 4, 7, 1861; *N.Y. Times,* May 5, 1861; *Ill. State Jour.,* May 10, 1861.

33. *N.Y. Times,* Oct. 1, 1861.

34. Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events* (New York, 1861), I: 112.

The English journalist William H. Russell, in his letter from Camp Defiance, noted that the local secessionsts tended to "abate their rage" in the presence of troops. He noted that "Gen. Prentiss finds it necessary to station troops along the railroad at the bridges to prevent any playful pranks in sawing the timbers or setting them on fire." Russell also observed that Illinois volunteers had been abused and insulted, but by June 22 he was able to report, "All that has died away."[35] "Zouave" wrote from the comfortable vantage point of the St. Charles Hotel:

> We are surrounded by a community essentially Southern in interests and feeling. The great bulk of the Egyptians are of Southern origin, from Virginia, and Tennessee and Kentucky, and a large number are actually pro-slavery in sentiment. . . . In Cairo, Republicanism scarcely ever got a foothold. Yet Egypt has given no signs of disloyalty, and is contributing liberally to the army of defence. When it comes to marching into other States, if it ever does, I presume there will be many a vigorous protest; for the Egyptian mind will be conscious of sensations not in harmony with the doctrine of "coercion."

"Zouave" prophesied wrongly; Egyptians did march into neutralist Kentucky, and deep into the rebel states, willingly, even eagerly – except for one lamentable regiment.[36]

The War Department lost no time in shipping ammunition to Cairo in large quantities. On one occasion, recorded by the *Ohio State Journal* of Columbus,

> A train of twenty-seven cars, laden with artillery, powder, and shot and shell, passed through this place, destined for Cairo, to be used by General Fremont [headquarters in St. Louis]. The train was in charge of the Adams Express Company. General Fremont telegraphed to Pittsburgh to have this supply of artillery and munitions sent through by express. It was telegraphed

35. *N.Y. Times*, July 31, 1861.
36. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1861; *Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois*, VI: 75-93.

> back that the attendant expense would be heavy. The reply was characteristic of the man, that expense was not the matter in question.[37]

This trait proved to be Frémont's undoing as commander of the Western Department. As an example of his extravagance at St. Louis, the Cairo paper told of a case where the General had paid $100 per 1,000 feet for lumber worth from $12 to $14 for 1,000 feet.[38] Frémont pretended to maintain a close association with President Lincoln. Even so, Lincoln did not hesitate to remove him from command at the proper time.[39]

As the troop concentration at Cairo increased, physical conditions did not necessarily improve. Haste was the rule. The great motivation was the universal desire to start the drive into the Confederacy as quickly as possible. Practically all military construction at Cairo (except some buildings for hospitals) was done with the view of early abandonment. Mud was a favorite topic of the correspondents. In the early weeks of the rendezvous few of the men had uniforms; they made their rounds "covered with their parti colored blankets, [and] present by no means an attractive aspect." After several days of rain "the town is a huge mud pond. The camp looks like a lake surrounded with bathing shanties." But the men were cheerful; they knew that hasty mobilization was the main reason for their discomfort. Bathing facilities were available at the brigade hospital. One observer was of the opinion that the situation in Cairo was a greater test of the men than the battlefield, where hardship and danger were accepted as a mat-

37. Quoted in *N.Y. Times,* Aug. 12, 1861; see also *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 476.

38. *Cairo City Gazette,* Oct. 31, 1861.

39. *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 416-17.

ter of course. Camp life at best was a hard chore; it was not only hard but demoralizing as well to be "planted in a mud hole, . . . sleep on wet boards, march in squads about a dirty town, with poor food in your mouths and a dirty blanket on your back. . . . — this requires that a man should have within him the fire of a true love for the cause which he supports."[40]

Cairo, along with Chicago, was the victim of unjustified rumors regarding its public health. Few streets were then paved in even the largest of United States cities. The rule throughout the country was mud or dust. Sidewalks, easily broken, were of planks laid on timbers, furnishing shelter for well-fed rats.

> In regard to health, Cairo, like Chicago [a *Tribune* reporter averred], in years gone by, has suffered severely by the reports of those who did not stop to inquire carefully into its sanitary condition. Though the climate here [at Cairo] is warm . . . the current of the two noble rivers that unite here, both coming from a colder latitude, causes more or less movement in the atmosphere. . . . The river water filtered, with ice, is really as healthy and fine as spring water, and yet persons may drink too much of that and bring disease upon them. Since 1858 the corporation have constructed sewers . . . and when the rivers are too high for them to act naturally, the sewage is collected in tanks and thrown over the levee by a steam engine.

Cairo was alive with mosquitoes. Mosquito bar was a nice gift to send a soldier. The *Tribune* reporter declared that the Chicago companies stationed at Cairo, with "free supplies of filtered water and lager beer, have shown a degree of health which may be stated as one to ten in their favor."[41]

Troops at Camp Hardin (Villa Ridge) were indeed fortunate. "Sucker" wrote for the *Illinois State Journal*:

40. *Chi. Daily Trib.*, May 14, 1861.

41. *Ibid.*, May 28, June 8, 1861.

> Our camp is pitched on a beautiful piece of high rolling ground . . . twelve miles North of Cairo. The water is excellent and abundant. . . . We have one nice street in our camp. On one side are twelve good houses for the different companies composing the regiment, and on the other side . . . the hospital, headquarters, telegraph office, officers' mess room, and the quartermaster and commissary departments.

"Sucker" reminded his readers that the "sogers" liked to receive something from home, even if it was only "a bottle of *horse radish.*"[42]

Physically, the men at Cairo, all of them volunteers, were the cream of the crop. The *Cincinnati Commercial* observed, "The most of the troops here are fine specimens of physical manhood."[43] "Zouave" wrote the *Times,* after watching a military review: "I have seen no Western troops whose general appearance was more creditable; the arms, accoutrements, uniform and discipline were all good."[44] "Mirabeau" noted: "At first sight our volunteers seem undersized, in comparison with the long, sinewy chaps down South. But here and there a company of six-footers relieve the eye, and inspire the hope that there are more where these came from."[45] Russell, of the *London Times,* watched four regiments drill. Though he noted differences in uniforms, the men marched steadily, "the line of bayonets was unwavering and uniformly sloped . . . the men were as fine fellows as could be seen in any infantry regiments of the line in any part of the world."[46]

Discipline, too, was good among the men at Cairo. The few disciplinary cases which did arise were the results of

42. *Ill. State Jour.,* May 15, 1861; Mary A. Newcomb, *Four Years of Personal Reminiscences of the War* (Chicago, 1893), 10-11.

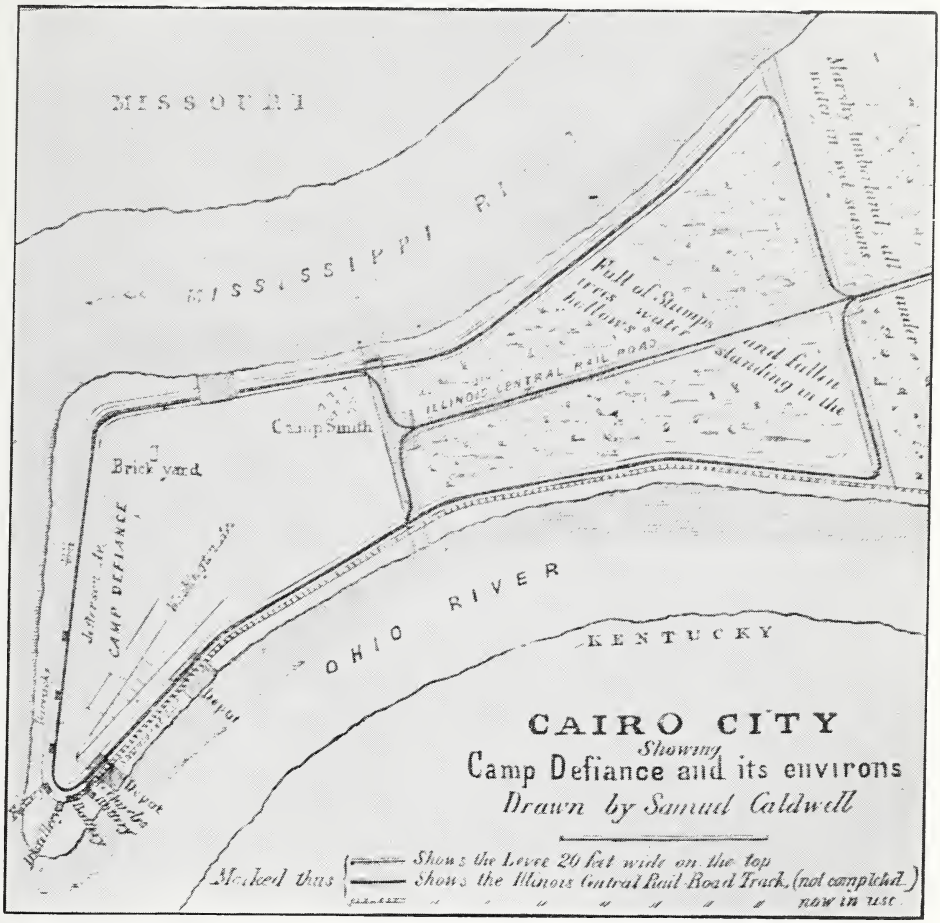
43. *Cincinnati Commercial,* as quoted in *Chi. Daily Trib.,* June 14, 1861.

44. *N.Y. Times,* June 10, 1861.

45. *Ibid.,* June 27, 1861.

46. *Ibid.,* July 31, 1861.

free-flowing liquor. "Every other house on the levee is a saloon, and every one has a guard stationed at the door to preserve order," observed the *Tribune* writer, adding that "if the United States should sink and Cairo only be left, there is a great probability that the numerous varieties of strong drink would be preserved from oblivion – specimens of every kind being in abundance. Concerning the use of the ardent [*sic*] . . . there is no doubt the men are drilled



This map of Cairo was published in Harper's Weekly, *June 1, 1861. At that time the distillery at the Point had an artillery battery on each side. Note the difference between the proposed I. C. tracks and those in use.*

as regularly as in the use of other deadly weapons."[47] When General Ulysses S. Grant assumed command at Cairo, he ordered officers and men to be constantly on duty and "not to be found about drinking saloons."[48]

General John A. McClernand, in immediate command at Cairo during Grant's absence, encouraged police to raid "gambling saloons and bawdy houses." On October 11, 1861, he closed all drinking saloons by proclamation. The *Tribune* said editorially (October 12), "The efficiency of our troops has long been paralyzed by this institution [the saloon]." Cairo's economic life had been demoralized by the war, and, in the light of this circumstance, a local editor was moved to protest:

> Cairo is practically under martial law. We publish the General Order closing all drinking saloons. It would seem more reasonable and just to keep the soldiers in camp and prevent them from loafing around the town, than to close all the dram shops on their account. If they cannot be kept under discipline while in camp, what will be done with them on the field of battle? Nearly every other kind of business has been ruined by the war, and if liquor selling is stopped, Cairo will dry up. If the Government would disburse even a portion of its indebtedness to our citizens, it would help the case considerably.[49]

At the end of 1861, when preparations for the great river drives were at their height, the Cairo paper lamented, "The Whiskey Blockade continues. Occasionally a soldier runs it, and gets a little, but this is so rarely accomplished that we may say there is no drunkenness in the army." The story was told of "one man [who] bought a plate of oysters purposely to drink the alcohol left in the lamp of the chafing dish, and, after this wretched resort, declared that it didn't

47. *Chi. Daily Trib.*, May 25, 1861.

48. *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1861.

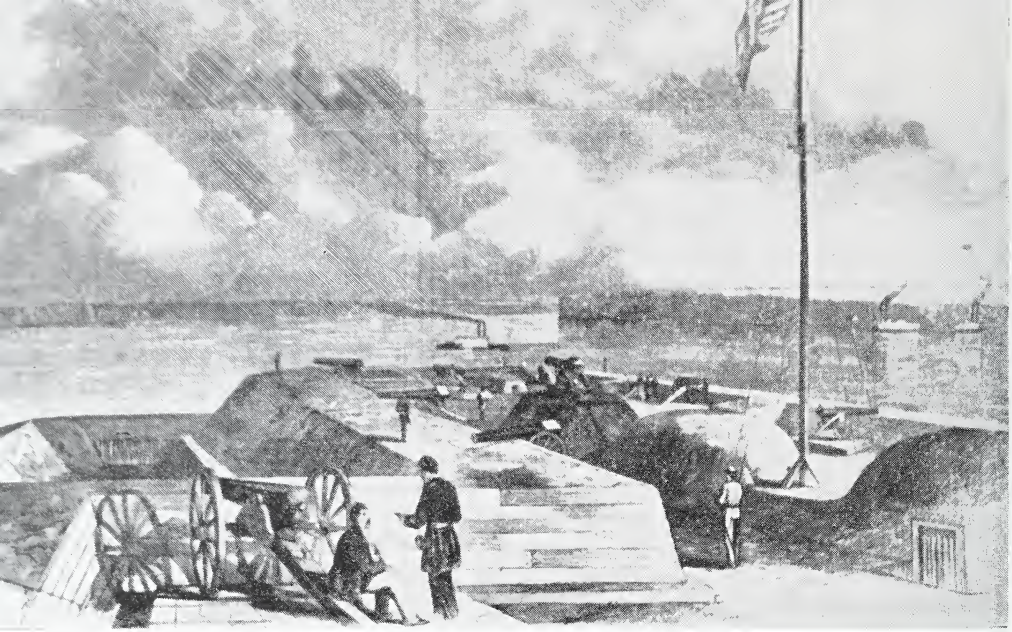
49. *Cairo City Gazette*, Oct. 10, 1861.

go hard with him to keep sober on Christmas, but he never drank anything anyhow."[50]

When the campaign up the Tennessee River was underway, the commanding general at Cairo ordered the arrest of all liquor dealers, the destruction of their stock and the breaking up of the gambling saloons. A murder by a man in a drunken frenzy had inspired the order.[51]

The basic attitude of the men at Cairo was sound. Tedium and boredom, the lack of recreational facilities and impatience with the progress of the war, all these were factors explaining drunkenness. The men were under arms to serve their country; they had volunteered that the Federal Union might be preserved. The news from Manassas – the Federal defeat at the first Battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1861 – "fell like a thunderbolt on this camp. Men were struck dumb. . . . Horror and incredibility and revenge shown [*sic*] upon every countenance. . . . Some of the Colonels told their soldiers the whole story at evening parade." Three-month enlistments were expiring; men were vexed with mustering procrastination and red tape; they saw favoritism in the acceptance of regiments; then came the news of the disaster at Bull Run, and morale improved strikingly.[52] But the men were impatient for action, and failed to realize that months, not weeks, were required to build an effective fighting machine with volunteer troops. Actually, a military miracle, for a democracy, was being accomplished. The whole situation was neatly summarized by *Harper's Weekly*: "In April last . . . we had neither money, nor army, nor navy . . . nor any thing else . . . for military operations on a grand scale. . . . To have cre-

50. *Ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1861.
51. *Jonesboro Gazette,* April 5, 1861.
52. *Chi. Daily Trib.,* July 25, 1862.



By late summer, 1861, the building at the Point (see page 268), which was a distillery, had been replaced by a fort. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, *of September 28, 1861, published this drawing with the following caption: "Fort Prentiss, occupying the extreme point of the peninsula of Cairo, at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio, and commanding both rivers."*

ated a first-class army and navy [gunboats] in six months is evidence not of slowness but of unparalleled dispatch."[53]

One final, unhappy episode in September, 1861, marred the record of General Prentiss in the development of Cairo as a principal center of preparation for a great military drive. When Grant was ordered to assume command of troops in the Cairo area, Prentiss became angered and indignant. Possibly he felt that he should have had some advance notice of the impending change; Frémont's order was a surprise, and at the time it arrived, Prentiss was leading his troops on a scouting expedition in the Cape Girardeau area. When he returned to the Cape on September 1 and found himself superseded by Grant, he offered his resignation, but then, in succession, refused to relinquish com-

53. *Harper's Weekly,* V (Oct. 26, 1861): 674.

mand and "reported himself in arrest." Grant filed charges against Prentiss, but said that he was "perfectly willing" to withdraw them for the good of the service. The root of the trouble was Prentiss' claim to seniority over Grant. Prentiss was quickly transferred to northern Missouri, and the matter soon blew over.[54]

Any danger to Cairo was a thing of the past when Grant assumed command and started the final stages of the preparations for the "Great Mississippi Expedition" (as it was mistakenly designated by the *Times*) which he was to lead through a succession of hard-won victories culminating in the fall of Vicksburg.[55]

Those who mourned the loss of Cairo's river trade did not have long to wait for its revival. As Union victories pushed Rebel armies southward, with victory at Pittsburg Landing and Memphis, the river traffic quickly revived. As early as February 27, 1862, the Cairo editor was pleased to note: "The War has given to Cairo the notoriety that must ever serve to continue the condition in business affairs now fairly inaugurated."[56]

Military authorities, however, were in no haste to recognize that a new situation prevailed at Cairo. As late as July 17, 1862, the Cairo editor commented: "It seems to us that the necessity for martial law in Cairo has passed. The town is no longer a rendezvous for thousands of soldiers, the country contiguous in Missouri and Kentucky is relieved of the presence of armed foes."[57] By November of 1862 the *Times* correspondent informed his readers, "Just now, Cairo is a point of no great importance."[58]

54. *Chi. Daily Trib.,* Sept. 6, 1861; *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 141-47.
55. *N.Y. Times,* Jan. 10, 1862.
56. *Cairo City Gazette,* Feb. 27, 1862.
57. *Ibid.,* July 17, 1862.
58. *N.Y. Times,* Nov. 13, 1862.

MARTIN ABBOTT

President Lincoln In Confederate Caricature

Now associate professor of history at Oglethorpe University in Georgia, Martin Abbott took his doctorate at Emory University. He has written for such journals as the Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, Civil War History, Agricultural History, *and* South Carolina Historical Magazine.

NOWHERE PERHAPS was the failure of the Southern Confederacy more striking than in the field of human relations. Once the elation and excitement of the early days had passed – and pass they quickly did – its people were seldom inspired by their government or filled with a sense of mission by their leaders. Neither North nor South, of course, deliberately fashioned means for fostering and promoting popular morale; but the Southern shortcoming was crucial because Jefferson Davis, unlike Lincoln – he who to millions was "Father Abraham" – evinced neither the talent nor the temperament for dramatizing the issues of the conflict, for arousing among the rank and file that outpouring of dedication so vital for victory in a democracy's war.

Yet, if the government itself employed no formal device of propaganda, individuals and groups within the Confederacy did develop techniques that looked toward filling the people with the zeal of the determined and the ardor of the righteous. Under such auspices, stirring tunes were written and sung; patriotic stationery was widely employed; plays

that dramatized the holiness of the Southern cause were performed; story and song hailed the exploits of military heroes. And of all these efforts at inspiring loyalty, probably none was more effective among the people at large than that originated by newspaper editors in their depiction of Lincoln, through caricature, as the embodiment of all that was coarse, brutal, boorish and crude among their foes. By lampooning his every foible, some real and many imagined, they fashioned a stereotype which, though seldom subtle and often grotesque, became the popular image.

Lincoln became the symbol toward which Southerners directed their venom and spite for the Northern enemy. In Confederate newspaper columns the struggle of North and South became "Mr. Lincoln's war," the Union army "Mr. Lincoln's army," the Northern states "Lincolndom." In such a manner, in fact, did Southern editors undertake to draw a graphic distinction between the war aims and purposes of the two sections.

Beginning with the election of 1860, the journalists etched a composite picture which evolved in time into the conventionalized treatment in newspapers throughout the Confederacy. In the interval between Lincoln's election and his inauguration, for example, a weekly in South Carolina pictured him as a jocose backwoodsman who was wholly insensible to the gravity of the secession crisis. According to the account, when a visitor noted that the Gulf Coast states were withdrawing all together, Lincoln's reply was: "Well, well, we shall the easier get our appointments confirmed in the Senate."[1] The same story depicted him as a crude boor, entertaining his visitors by his "preeminence as a narrator of questionable stories . . . and of dubious jokes." Somewhat

1. *Spartanburg* (S. C.) *Express,* Jan. 16, 1861.

later, as Lincoln refused to commit himself in advance to any irrevocable program, the journal rhetorically asked its readers why he found it impossible to get his life insured, and answered: "Because nobody can make out his policy."[2]

An editor in Louisiana, referring to the speeches Lincoln was making as he traveled from Springfield to Washington, declared that he demonstrated "an utter inability to rise to the dignity of his subject" and that he had fallen to the level of "a stump orator."[3] A fellow-editor was aghast over the "degradation and humiliation" into which the North had fallen "by the ridiculous, vulgar and pusillanimous antics of the coarse and cowardly demagogue. . . . His silly speeches, his ill-timed jocularity, his pusillanimous evasion of responsibility, and vulgar pettyfoggery, have no parallel in history, save in the crazy capers of Caligula, or in the effeminate buffoonery of Henry of Valois." Without pausing for breath the writer concluded: "In supreme silliness – in profound ignorance of the institutions of the Republic . . . – in dishonest and cowardly efforts to dodge responsibility . . . – in disgusting levity on the most serious subjects, the speeches of Lincoln . . . have no equals in the history of any people, civilized or semi-civilized."[4]

Shortly after the fall of Fort Sumter a Richmond journal published this poetic offering to the Northern Chief Executive:

> Davis's answer is rough and curt.
> "Sumter is ours and nobody hurt."
> With Mortar, Paixham and petards—
> We tender Old Abe our Beau-regards.[5]

2. *Ibid.,* Jan. 23, 1861.

3. *New Orleans Daily Crescent,* Feb. 21, 1861, as reprinted in Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1931), 465-66.

4. *New Orleans Daily Delta,* Feb. 26, 1861, *ibid.,* 469-70.

5. *Richmond Examiner,* April 16, 1861.

At about the same time another organ declared that the initials C. S. A. after the names of officers who had resigned from the United States Army to accept Confederate commissions were meant to signify "Could'nt [*sic*] Stand Abe."[6]

Lincoln's well-known fondness for telling humorous tales proved a steady source of inspiration for Southern satire. The *Charleston Daily Courier,* for example, reported that Lincoln's feeling for the Union was displayed when, during a dinner with the Bremen minister, he told thirty-three stories and "an extra one for Kansas."[7] Even at formal receptions the new President could not conduct himself with dignity, according to another paper. At one function the pugilist Tom Hyer was introduced and, as he approached, Lincoln threw up his hand playfully, as if to ward off a blow, and remarked with a pun: "I'm pretty tall, but I admit that you are higher." With its type dripping acid, the journal asked its readers if that remark weren't "exquisitely epigrammatic? Could Washington or Jefferson, or Madison or Calhoun, or Webster or Clay, have done half as well?"[8]

Southern editors also used "Lincoln the Simpleton" as a recurring theme. Two days after the presidential inauguration, a North Carolina journal declared that no man in his senses expected Lincoln to conduct affairs at Washington: "Why the truth is, the man is not acquainted with the commonest civilities of every day life. . . . Played upon by every designing demagogue and trickster . . . , the man with the 'harp of a thousand strings' won't be anywhere beside Old Abe!"[9] In a corrosive outburst the *Richmond Examiner* characterized Lincoln as the "delightful combination

6. *Charleston Daily Courier,* May 23, 1861.
7. March 12, 1861.
8. *Selma* (Ala.) *Issue,* as reprinted in the *Charleston Daily Courier,* March 6, 1861.
9. *Charlotte Whig,* as reprinted *ibid.*

"Master Abraham Lincoln Gets a New Toy" was the caption of this cartoon published in The Southern Illustrated News, *of Richmond, Virginia, February 28, 1863.*

of Western country lawyer with a Yankee Bar-Keeper" whose speeches consisted of "condensed lumps of imbecility, buffoonery, and vulgar malignity!"[10]

Somewhat more adroitly the *New Orleans Picayune* sought to explain Lincoln's simple-mindedness by presenting what it termed its discovery of his true background. Citing its source as one of "high authority," the paper announced that in Nelson County, Kentucky, lived an old lady who, after the election of 1860, remarked that she never thought Abe Enlow would rise to such eminence. When asked who Abe

10. *Richmond Examiner,* March 4, 1861.

Enlow was, she replied that he was a boy she had known a long time ago, "a sharp, wiry chap, always up to mean tricks" who once had stolen a saddle and, when caught, had run off to Illinois where he had changed his name to Lincoln. And, she insisted, she could name fifty men in the county who knew him as Abe Enlow, "the boy who stole Jim Craycroft's saddle."[11]

In South Carolina a weekly organ turned to Biblical form in depicting Lincoln's administration after its first few weeks in office:

> It was in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty one, and in the fourth month of the reign of Lincoln, the King, who reigned over the States called United States; and as the King sat in the White House in the City called Washington, that a messenger came unto the King and bowed down and said, "O, great and mighty King, eleven of the tribes have revolted in the land lying South of the river called Potomac. . . ." Then the King looked mighty wrath[ful], and issued a proclamation calling on all his great men and chief cou[n]sellors and soothsayers, fornicators and adulter[er]s, to assemble themselves in the great Sanhedrin, and [when] the King had sat himself on the throne, he called William, whose surname is Seward, to take a seat on his right hand. . . . Then he called Winfield, whose surname is Scott, to take a seat on the left of the throne, for he is a great warrior and a mighty man withal. Then the King called Bates, his cup bearer, to bring him some whisky; and when it was brought, Cameron, his taster . . . pronounced it good and fit for the King to drink; then the King took a drink and rubbed his hands and wiped his mouth, and was well pleased and asked them all to take a *smile;* and they all drank and were merry and so was the King! Then the King arose and "Opened his mouth and spoke like a man" and said, am I "not the king of the eleven tribes, which have revolted?" And they all bowed their heads to the ground and said it is so. Then the King said, "What shall be done with the eleven tribes? Shall we not go down into the land and possess it, and slaughter the young men and the

11. As reprinted in the *Spartanburg Express,* Oct. 2, 1861.

old men, and wives and daughters, and take their man servants and maid servants unto us, and dwell with them, and them with us, and we shall be one people, for I, the King, hath said it?" And they all bowed their heads and said let it be did [*sic*]. Then Winfield arose and asked, "What shall be done with the tribe which is called Palmettos—they being the most stiff-necked and rebellious of all the tribes which have revolted?" Then when the Palmettos were mentioned, the King was sorely troubled, and again called for his cup bearer, and they all took a drink and felt more warlike and ready to obey the commands of the King. "Then the King being merry, and well pleased with himself, said if any one ask anything of me even unto the half of my kingdom, I will give it [to] him." Then Chase said, "Get me the head of Jefferson Davis." Then the King was sorely troubled in his mind, on account of the promise he had made; but to relieve himself, told Chase to "go and get it." Then Chase said "he did not think he could go, but would get Winfield, as he was well acquainted with him". . . . Then the King said, "Let us go out and see our mighty men who are encamped about the city," and as they were about to go out, the King said "let us liquor," and they all drank and "smiled."[12]

In the same general tenor was a long narrative poem carried by the *Southern Confederacy*. Entitled "The Devil's Visit to 'Old Abe,' " its literary qualities were questionable but its point was unmistakable. As the scene opened:

> Old Abe was sitting in his chair of State,
> With one foot on the mantle and one on the gate—
> Smoking his pipe, and scratching his pate.
> For he had heard some disastrous news of late.
> As fearful as death and as cruel as fate.
> In an old earthen jug, on a table near by
> Was a gallon of "Buck-ey," or "Choice old Rye,"
> To cheer up his hopes which were ready to die—
> Under whose potent charms Old *Abe* would be able,
> To lay all his griefs, like a *Bill* "on the table,"
> Or shut up his wo, like a horse in a stable.
> He sat in his chair
> With a wo-begone air.

12. *Laurensville Herald,* June 21, 1861.

As Lincoln thus brooded his appearance was striking:

> His cheek bones were high, and his visage was rough,
> Like a middling of bacon—all wrinkled and tough;
> His nose was as long, and as ugly and big,
> As the snout of a half-starved Illinois pig;
> He was *long* in the legs, and *long* in the arms—
> A *Longfellow,* indeed, save the poetic charms.

Reminiscent somewhat of the raven's visit to Poe, the devil appeared suddenly to interrupt Lincoln's meditations and, after preliminary conversation, to observe:

> And now in all candor, I must call your attention,
> To the plain truths which now you'll allow me to mention.
> You know, in the first place, you owe your election
> To the aid and protection
> Of a demagogue crew under my own direction.

The recent humiliation suffered by the Union forces at the Battle of Bull Run shamed Satan for ever putting his trust in Lincoln:

> If this is the fruit of my labor and zeal
> I am sure I deserve the remorse that I feel,
> For becoming the tool,
> Of a shallow-brained fool.

Predicting the ultimate collapse of the Union and the triumph of the Confederate cause, his Satanic Majesty left the President with this jeremiad:

> You have ruined your nation—degraded its name—
> And hurled on its people a heritage of shame;
> You have murdered its glory and pride at a blow,
> And filled its proud cities with wailing woe.[13]

Most Southern editors professed to view the actions and words of Lincoln as merely the product of a warped and shallow mind. The *Richmond Whig,* for example, characterized one of his addresses to Congress as nothing more than

13. Sept. 27, 1861.

"twaddle" and "gibberish of an uneducated and vulgar mind."[14] Another journal spoke of the "Illinois blackguard" now occupying the position once held by "patriots, Christians, and gentlemen."[15] The same paper, seeking to get off a little pun, had observed earlier that in trying to fulfill his campaign pledge of running the government as he had found it, "the Illinois Ape" had not proved to be a good engineer but had evinced talent as "a first-rate Brak[e]-man."[16]

Often, when Southern newspapermen found their own fund of inspiration running low, they borrowed freely and printed prominently the ideas of Northern critics. This proved the case in 1863 when the *Southern Confederacy* reprinted an article from a New York paper which proposed Lincoln as a candidate for the vacant Greek throne. "We can secure to Greece," the account declared, "a sovereign whose Homeric simplicity and nestorian garrulousness would recall . . . when her kings were the jolliest of all possible gamims [*sic*], and her princesses the most unaffected of washwomen."[17]

The theme of Lincoln the Buffoon, the Simple-Minded Clown, remained the essence of Southern caricature. Typical was the story carried by the *Charleston Daily Courier* of his being introduced, at a formal reception, to a dignified English nobleman, the Marquis of Hartington. Forgetting the Englishman's name, Lincoln a moment later asked the man again, and upon being told exclaimed: "Ah! Hartington; Hartington, why that rhymes with Mrs. Partington." The Marquis, related the *Courier,* retired in "considerable confusion."[18] On another occasion, according to a Georgia

14. Dec. 8, 1862.
15. *Charleston Daily Courier,* Dec. 31, 1864.
16. *Ibid.,* July 25, 1862.
17. Jan. 29, 1863.
18. Dec. 30, 1862.

journal, as Lincoln talked with the Russian minister, he asked the diplomat whether, if he had met the President in some country other than the United States, he would have taken him to be an American. Replying negatively, the minister said that he would have believed Lincoln to be a Pole. " 'So I am,' exclaimed the President, straightening himself up to his full altitude, 'and a liberty Pole at that.' "[19] Another paper, in a story captioned "A Model President," told how, on a different social occasion, Lincoln had kissed a pretty girl presented by John Hay, and then observed: "Abraham Lincoln appears to be enjoying himself the same as when he kept his grocery – kissing the girls & cracking vulgar jokes."[20]

In playing upon the theme of Lincoln the Fool, Confederate editors found poetry irresistibly attractive. Late in 1861 the *Southern Confederacy* burst forth:

> Abram Lincoln got elected!
> Bigger fool than we expected,
> Tried to run the old machine,
> Smashed it to smithereens![21]

The same general topic was further exploited by the *Richmond Examiner* when, in commenting upon Lincoln's visit in 1862 to Fort Monroe, it noted that medieval rulers usually were attended by two aides, the fool and the historian. "Mr. Lincoln," the journal observed, "appears to have been attended by the latter – the duty of the former, we believe, he has taken upon himself."[22] Earlier, another organ declared that a young Northerner, responding to the President's willingness to reward anyone with information about the South, informed the Chief Executive that Southerners were

19. *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer,* April 12, 1862.
20. *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist,* Aug. 8, 1861.
21. Oct. 12, 1861.
22. May 27, 1862.

well supplied with shoes and, for this piece of information, was commissioned a lieutenant in the army.[23]

In making Lincoln the great object of ridicule, Southern journalists consistently placed upon him the ultimate responsibility for every Northern failure, reverse and frustration. Even the normally dignified *Southern Literary Messenger* displayed the tendency through a series of doggerel verses entitled "Mother Lincoln's Melodies." Concerning Second Bull Run, one rhymed:

> Fussery, Feathery Scott,
> Abe made up a plot;
> Pope came to town,
> And the plot broke down,
> Fussery, Feathery Scott.[24]

A Charleston paper, playing upon the same general theme, reported in 1863 that when Lincoln was asked by a citizen for a pass to Richmond, he replied that his passes were no longer respected; during the past two years, he said, he had issued some two hundred and fifty thousand, and not one had been honored.[25] Another journal, noting the inflation prevailing in the North by 1863, offered the following: "Why are Lincoln's green-backs like the Jews? Because they come from Abraham and have no redeemer."[26]

No frailty was too weak, no weakness too flagrant to be attributed to the Union leader. A Memphis paper, whether seriously or with tongue in cheek is hard to say, offered its readers a full analysis of the reasons for the President's having become a confirmed drunkard — a fact, it noted, which recent visitors to Washington positively confirmed. Because

23. *Charleston Daily Courier,* Oct. 4, 1861.
24. XXXIV (July-Aug., 1862): 509-10.
25. *Charleston Mercury,* May 21, 1863.
26. *Charleston Daily Courier,* April 14, 1863.

The Southern Illustrated News *(Richmond, Virginia) published this caricature of Lincoln on November 8, 1862, over a caption reading, "King Abraham before and after issuing the Emancipation Proclamation."*

of the great strain and burden of his office Lincoln, acting under his doctor's orders, had begun nightly to take large doses of opium and brandy to induce sleep; then in the morning, to offset the effect and recover from the oppressive numbness, he had found it necessary to imbibe liquor freely.

Through long addiction to this routine he had become "so demoralized . . . as to be perfectly imbecile."[27]

From the very beginning of the conflict, Southern editors took Lincoln's character and conduct – or at least their view of them – as indisputable proof of the superiority of Davis to him, of the South over the North, of the Confederate Army to the Union. Confirmation of this assumption was found by one editor in Lincoln's proclamation of 1863 which outlined the process by which any Southern state could restore itself to the Union when 10 per cent of its voting population had taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. "It is the first time," the editor declared, "the assertion was so boldly made that one Yankee was a little better than nine gentlemen and Southerners."[28]

Among the favorite devices of caricature used by Confederate journalists was that of picturing Lincoln as an individual totally deficient in personal courage and obsessed by fears for his life. One newspaper solemnly declared that the Northern President never left the White House without his bodyguard of sixteen mounted soldiers;[29] another reported that instead of sleeping at the White House, he retired each night to army barracks, surrounded himself with armed guards, and slept with his boots on – a circumstance which led the indignant editor to exclaim: "Illustrious successor of Washington and Jackson! The miserable chicken-hearted Abolition hoozier."[30]

As the war lengthened and the weariness of the people deepened, Southern editors appear to have lost their early

27. *Memphis Avalanche,* as reprinted in the *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist,* May 24, 1861.

28. *Charleston Daily Courier,* Dec. 16, 1863.

29. *Camden* (S. C.) *Confederate,* Nov. 13, 1863.

30. *Anderson* (S. C.) *Intelligencer,* May 9, 1861.

ability to poke fun at the Northern Chief Executive; the touch of lighthanded humor gave way to that of heavy-handed venom. But at least one, even late in the struggle, could still manage a humorous twist in referring to Lincoln who, according to the account, had just issued an advertising card in anticipation of the outcome of the 1864 election. Entitled "To Whom It May Concern," it read:

> My old customers and others are no doubt aware of the terrible time I have had in *crossing the stream,* and will be glad to know that I will be back, on the same side from which I started, on or before the 4th of March next, when I will be ready to *Swap Horses, Dispense Law, Make Jokes,* Split Rails, and perform other matters in a *small* way.[31]

In their constant caricaturing, Confederate editors showed neither mercy nor tenderness toward Lincoln, although in truth they were hardly any more caustic than many of their Northern counterparts. That their treatment, at least in part, was a conscious effort for purposes of morale seems certain, for when Lincoln fell victim to the insanity of John Wilkes Booth in 1865, more than one journalist, now that the fighting had ended, ruefully recognized that the South had lost her best friend. Typical was the sentiment of the *Richmond Whig* when it termed the assassination "appalling and deplorable"; or that of a Georgia paper whose editor solemnly spoke of the fallen leader as one with "a great soul, vast in the conceptions and aspirations" and with a large heart that was "genial, magnanimous, liberal and without a taint of malice or vindictiveness."[32] Such feelings, unlike much of Confederate caricature of Lincoln, appear to have stemmed from sincere conviction.

31. *Sumter* (S. C.) *Tri-Weekly Watchman,* Nov. 16, 1864.

32. Martin Abbott, "Southern Reaction to Lincoln's Assassination," *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly,* VII (Sept., 1952): 125-26.

Lincolniana Notes

Debates Exhibit at Illinois State Fair

A LINCOLN-DOUGLAS debates exhibit, complied from material in the Lincoln collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, was on display in the seventy-five-foot front window of the Illinois Building on the State Fairgrounds during the 1958 fair, August 8-17 This display, in commemoration of the centennial of the "Great Debates of '58," marked the second successive year that the Historical Library has had an exhibit in this prominent location just inside the main gate of the Fairgrounds.

A feature of the exhibit was the only known original copy of a note which Lincoln used on the platform during the debates. On the five-by-eight-inch slip of paper Lincoln had written the order in which he wished to make certain remarks and this was followed by the full text of his famous "Freeport Question," on which much of the debates hinged. The note itself was found on the platform at Jonesboro, after the debate there, by John Todd Stuart, Lincoln's first law partner. He preserved it as a memento of Lincoln and the debates but, following his death, two of his heirs divided it by tearing it in two. The two pieces were later given to the Historical Library at intervals several years apart.

For display at the fair the two pieces of the note were put together, mounted in a frame with a brief explanatory text, and exhibited in the window adjoining the entrance to the building. Above the note was hung a framed broadside two and one-half feet wide by four feet tall, advertising a "Grand Rally of Lincoln Men" to be held at Pekin on October 5, 1858. Among the announcements about the speakers and the other notables who were to attend there was one that said the steamships *Nile* and *Delta* would carry passengers to the rally at half-fare.

The remainder of the exhibit consisted of ten plexiglass-covered

panels each five feet wide by four feet high. On these panels were pictures of the debates scenes and of the towns where they were held, photostatic enlargements of Lincoln and Douglas letters related to the debates, newspaper advertisements and reports, and printed copies of the speeches.

The first two of the ten panels were devoted to Lincoln and Douglas, respectively, the third presented the Republican state convention of June 16, 1858, when Lincoln delivered his famous "House Divided" speech, and each of the following panels told of one of the seven debates. These panels for the individual cities were labeled in Lincoln's handwriting. This was done by enlarging by about ten times Lincoln's own notations in the scrapbook of newspaper clippings he compiled after the debates. Lincoln, however, neglected to identify the Jonesboro debate, but this deficiency was overcome by piecing together individual letters from his other writings.

On the Lincoln panel there was an enlargement of the eight-page manuscript on which he calculated the possible outcome of the election and outlined his strategy, district by district. Also there was a facsimile of his letter of July 31, 1858 in which he accepted the places and dates for the debates as presented by Douglas in a letter dated a day earlier.

This Douglas letter was reproduced in the "Little Giant's" panel, along with his campaign picture, an early print of his birthplace at Brandon, Vermont, and pictures of Mrs. Adele Cutts Douglas.

The panel on Ottawa, where the first debate was held on August 21, contained facsimiles of two letters Lincoln wrote to party workers. In another letter he told Ebenezer Peck and Norman Judd that he wanted to see them in Freeport before the second debate, which was on August 27.

The third debate, at Jonesboro on September 15, was covered by the *Weekly Chicago Press and Tribune* of September 23 with a four-column story on its front page. The paper devoted the same amount of front-page space to the sixth debate held at Quincy on October 16, but this was exceeded by the *Weekly Chicago Times,* which gave six of its eight front-page columns on October 14 to

the fifth debate at Galesburg seven days earlier. The *Alton Daily Whig* carried an announcement of the debate held there on October 15 under the heading "Last Great Discussion," and the *Alton Daily Courier* reported the event the next day. The originals or facsimiles of all these newspaper articles were on display.

"Lincoln in Lewistown" Centennial

During the week preceding their first debate at Ottawa both Lincoln and Douglas filled speaking engagements in Lewistown. Lincoln's speech on August 17, 1858, lasted for two and one-half hours and included what was termed, by a reporter for the *Chicago Press and Tribune,* a "noble and impressive apostrophe to the Declaration of Independence." The centennial of this event was celebrated on August 17 under the sponsorship of the Fulton County Republican Central Committee.

The climax of the day-long celebration came when State Representative G. William Horsley, costumed as Lincoln, delivered Lincoln's arguments from a platform erected at the front of the courthouse. Preceding the speech there was a long parade of antique cars, farm machinery, buggies, brass bands, and floats depicting scenes from the life of Lincoln. An estimated 10,000 onlookers watched the procession and listened with covered ears as a hugh steam calliope rolled by.

Circuit Judge William Kellogg of Canton, one of Lincoln's stanchest supporters in 1858, had introduced the candidate in that year, and in the re-enactment his role was taken by the present circuit judge, Burton A. Roeth, also of Canton. The welcoming speech was made by George Proctor of Lewistown, grand nephew of the George Phelps who made the original speech a hundred years ago. Master of ceremonies and chairman of the program committee was State Senator Albert Scott of Canton. Others present on the platform included Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier, Federal Judge Frederick O. Mercer of Canton, and Supreme Court Justices Joseph Daly of Peoria and Byron House of Nashville.

A recitation of Edgar Lee Master's poem, "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates" by Ira Allen of Lewistown, and the singing of several of

Lincoln's favorite songs by a local group under Lewis Day of Cuba, were added attractions.

"House Divided" Speech Dramatized

The centennial anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's famous "House Divided" speech of June 16, 1858, was observed by the presentation of a dramatization of the event in the Circuit Court Room of the present Sangamon County Courthouse, the same room in which the speech was originally delivered. The program was sponsored by the Springfield Historical Monuments Commission, which issued invitations to the three hundred guests — the capacity of the room. It reached a much wider audience, however, through a broadcast by Springfield television station WICS.

The script for the dramatization was written by Sara Feuer, and the four settings for the six scenes were arranged around the judge's bench in the courtroom. The program was a half-hour in length, and the staging and timing were under direction of the television crew. Hymns by the choir of the St. Paul's African Methodist Church opened and closed the program, and a guitar-playing minstrel, Lewis E. Caster, Jr., provided a song to set each of the scenes.

The part of Lincoln was portrayed by State Representative G. William Horsley. The script, however, called for no more than half a dozen sentences from the speech. Other roles and those who played them were: Newton Bateman, Frank Reed; William H. Herndon, Tom Shrewsbury; Charles L. Wilson, Jack McKee; John Wentworth, Al Ward; Isaac N. Coltrin, Frank Vernor; James H. Matheny, Frank Pryor; J. C. Conkling, Charles McElroy; Leonard Swett, Gordon Casper; Orville H. Browning, J. Speed Reid; Gustavus Koerner, S. Phil Hutchison; Willie Lincoln, Billy Wicks; and Mrs. Lincoln, Emily Lyons.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Libary

A diary and some two hundred letters of the Civil War period compose the Payne Papers recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. Edwin W. Payne of Sterling, Illinois, is represented in the collection by his letters from the front, which he later used in writing the *History of the 34th Illinois Volunteer Regiment.* Correspondence of his brother, Ira A. Payne, of Company F, 93rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry, is also included. Ira, who enlisted at Newton, was killed in the attack on Missionary Ridge, Chattanooga, in November, 1863.

Among the letters from home to the Paynes and others in their regiments are a number of observations and home-front sidelights on the war. One young Boston lady writes to a soldier friend about the future assassin of President Lincoln after having seen him at the theater: "Oh, I was quite in love with Booth — Such dreamy eyes — perfectly charmànt. He is singularly handsome and has such a manly graceful bearing that I almost lose my heart when hearing him." Less emotional are the notes on early Payne and Wells family pioneers.

A copy of the first edition of the *Lincoln-Douglas Debates,* inscribed upside down on a back end-paper, "Decatur Pool, Decatur, Ills., May 9, 1860," is a recent addition to the Historical Library's collections that will be of immediate interest to Lincoln bibliographers. An explanation of why this is so is expected in a future article in this *Journal* by Ernest J. Wessen of Mansfield, Ohio.

Among other recently acquired Lincoln items is a previously unrecorded letter to the Attorney General, dated May 30, 1861, written by Secretary of War William H. Seward and endorsed by him, over Lincoln's autograph. It is a request that a conference be held with Reverdy Johnson to prepare arguments for the suspension of writs of habeas corpus. The administration's handling of the habeas corpus issue was bitterly contested within the Union throughout the war, but Lincoln and Seward agreed on their policy early, as this letter suggests, and maintained their position consistently.

Illinois Scrapbook

When he was eighty-seven years old Elijah Iles, Springfield's first merchant, wrote his reminiscences, which he published under the title Sketches of Early Life and Times in Kentucky, Missouri and Illinois *(Springfield, 1883). These excerpts are from pages 23-32 and 36-37.*

AFTER A short visit in Kentucky with my relatives, I became restless, and returned to Missouri accompanied by my step-brother, Samuel Wheeler, who, upon my recommendation, obtained employment in a store.

In passing through Illinois I heard of a district called the Sangamon valley, north of St. Louis one hundred miles, then just settling, said to be very fertile. As I thought Missouri would remain a frontier state during my life time, I decided to visit and explore more of Illinois, and if I liked it and found it as represented, I would quit Missouri and fix my permanent abode in Illinois, as it would be more of a thoroughfare, more interior, and nearer a market. We were told commissioners had just staked out a road from a point forty miles west of Vincennes to Vandalia, thence to the Sangamon valley. This determined us to diverge from our course, follow the stakes, and visit that new country. The stakes were set far apart, but the trace was easily followed, as the ground was soft and the wagon hauling the stakes made deep ruts. We favored our horses by walking and leading them much of the way. We reached the Kaskaskia river, opposite Vandalia, after dark, and after wading an overflowed bottom midside in water to our horses, we swam them across the river, by the side of a canoe, to the town.

We found the capital to be an isolated place, fixed by the convention for twenty years beyond the settled parts, that it might be more central to the state. (It is now moved to Springfield, where it will doubtless remain forever.) We found the residents of the new capital mostly Germans, there being but few others in the town aside from state officers. The German colony brought their

priest. It consisted of several families. One of them, by the name of Ernst, had erected and was keeping the only hotel in the town. Many of the Germans died in a few years. When I got to the hotel I had an intense headache. The priest put a few drops of medicine on lumps of sugar, which after being dissolved in my mouth acted like a charm, and the ache was gone.

From Vandalia we followed the stakes and struck Gov. Edwards' war trace, now dim, thirty miles south of the Sangamon river. From this point we could see the timber of Sugar and Horse creeks, on the headwaters of the Sangamon. The weather was balmy, but soon a norther struck up with a heavy rain, which froze as it fell, and we were soon enveloped in a sheet of ice. It was getting dark and the road difficult to trace, and we began to doubt if we could find a house, as there were but few settlers and all located off the road. We could see the outlines of the timber on either side, but no house. We traveled some distance between the timber of Sugar and Brush creeks, and some time after dark we saw a bright light, more than a mile off the road, in Sugar creek timber. This caused our hearts to jump, and we made for the light. When we got to the cabin we found it occupied by a young married couple named Richie. They had just moved into it, and had not stopped the cracks; if afforded but little protection against the cold. Our horses were put in a rail pen and fed on the ground, and we were made as comfortable as we could be by keeping a rousing fire. They had but one bed, and could spare us no covering. We got our clothes well dried and lay on the floor, our feet to the fire and saddles for our pillows. In the morning we found the bed and floor covered with snow. It was bitter cold, and the air was filled with drifting snow. Mr. Richie told us we could find more comfortable quarters at a Mr. Funderburk's, some few miles off across the prairie, who had built a good cabin a year before, to reach which we had to face the drifting snow and bitter cold. On getting to the cabin we found it comfortable, and stopped one day and night; and as the ground was soft and the waters high, we gave up further prospecting. The next morning the storm had ceased and a bright sun melted the ice. This was in April. The grass was twelve inches

high — it had not been hurt by the sleet — and as it waved in the breeze it was a grand sight to look at.

On our return to the main road to St. Louis we traveled forty miles without passing a house to Mr. Paddock's, then to Edwardsville, St. Louis, St. Charles, and thence to my home in Franklin, then a flourishing town in Missouri, afterwards washed away and sunk, and the present city of Boonville was built on the opposite bank.

The result was that after exploring more of Missouri and a portion of Illinois as hereafter described, I pulled up stakes in Missouri and stuck them down in Illinois government lands, at a place called Springfield, within twenty miles of the then most northern settlements, where now rests the grand capitol of the great state of Illinois. This place had been selected as the temporary county seat, to accommodate the squatters until the survey and sale of land and until a permanent site could be selected. One reason for selecting this place was that there were more settlers in this vicinity than in any other part of northern Illinois, with whom the judge and lawyers could find quarters.

On my return to Boone's Lick, after making the necessary arrangements I started on my explorations. Leaving the Missouri timber behind me, I crossed the prairie, over which there was no road, and headed for the upper cabins on Salt river. Reaching the Salt river timber, I failed to find a house, and could not see the first mark of civilization. Here I camped for the night, using my saddle for a pillow. About daylight I heard a chicken crow and soon after a cow-bell tinkle, and following the direction of these welcome sounds I soon arrived at a cabin occupied by a Mr. Bess, where I had a good breakfast of milk, corn bread, butter, and hog meat, which to this day I never go back on.

Following down Salt river, I found but few houses until I got to the vicinity of Louisiana. Here I crossed the Mississippi into Illinois, and six miles out, at the foot of the bluff, found a colony of twelve families living in tents. They were erecting cabins, however, and had named the place Atlas. It was situated in the Snye bottom.

I stayed in camp with them one week. The colony was headed by three families by the name of Ross — one a doctor, who did not work. We amused ourselves by trapping wolves. At night we would set the traps, and each morning would find from one to two wolves in them. From here I followed the Mississippi down to near the mouth of the Illinois, where I found another colony of about the same number. They had been there a year and had built comfortable cabins. I found one family at the mouth of the Illinois river. Here I swam my horse across by the side of a canoe, and continued my course east to the trail leading from St. Louis to the Sangamon country, thence north to the Diamond Grove (now the city of Jacksonville) in which resided three families, Abrams, Kline, and Wilson; thence east about ten miles and stopped with a Mr. Buchanan that night, and he pointed out to me the timber at Island Grove. I crossed the prairie without a trail, found no one in the grove, and kept on the west side until I struck a trail running east to where it was said a temporary county seat was located. Following this trail I found the place, on the east side of Spring creek timber. Charles R. Matheny had just moved to the place, and had erected a cabin of one room, in which he was residing with a large family of little children. He had been appointed clerk of the circuit and county court, judge of the probate, clerk of his own court, and county recorder, although there were no deeds yet to be recorded. All these offices heaped upon him did not give him a bare support. John Kelley [*sic*] resided in the vicinity, and I stopped with him for the night.

I then explored the surrounding country, and found it sightly and such as could not be excelled in richness, and only equalled by the lands on the Missouri river. This settled the question, but how to occupy my time until the land should be put up for sale, was another problem. I had gained some little experience in selling goods, which determined me to use what money I had in merchandising until the land sales should take place.

I hunted around and found the stake that had been stuck for the beginning of a town named Springfield, and then bargained for the erection of a store house, to be set near the stake, eighteen

feet square, with sheds on the sides for shelter. The house was to be of hewn logs, covered with boards, with heavy poles laid on to keep the boards from blowing off. The plank for the shelves and counter had to be sawed with a pit-saw. Two men would saw about 150 feet in a day.

I bought my goods in St. Louis, mostly at auction at very low prices, as many goods were then being forced to sale, but to complete the assortment had to buy some at private sale. I then chartered a boat from a Mr. January, on which to ship my goods up the Illinois river to the mouth of the Sangamon, one hundred and fifty miles above St. Louis and within fifty miles of Springfield. The boat was towed up the river by five men walking on shore and pulling a tow line about three hundred feet long. One man on the boat acting as steersman, with myself as supercargo, completed the crew.

Just below the mouth of the Missouri river, where the current was very strong, a large cottonwood tree had fallen into the water, and the boat had to be steered out so as to clear it. As it struck the current, the bow was forced under the water. I calmly folded my arms with the thought that if it went down I would go too, as it held all that I had so far struggled for, together with four hundred dollars belonging to each of my brothers, William and Washington Iles, which my father had given me to invest for them; but, as the hatches were closed, only a few barrels of water got into the boat, and the bow soon raised and we pursued our upward course rejoicing — at least I did. The first house we came to above the mouth of the Missouri was at the mouth of the Illinois river. The next was a vacant cabin, with doors and windows cut out, but without shutters. This was at the mouth of the Sangamon river. The only other house on the Illinois at that day was an Indian-trading house at the foot of Lake Peoria, now the fine city of that name.

At the vacant cabin the boatmen landed my goods on the beach and started down the river on their return to St. Louis. I took my seat on the head of a whisky barrel, or salt barrel, I don't know which, and watched the boat until it got out of sight, and I thought

and thought. But as thinking would do no good, I went to the top of the bank and examined the cabin, and found a few household goods and farming utensils stowed in it. The articles had been brought there by emigrants in what were called dug-outs. I believe the boat bringing my goods was the first boat that ever ascended the river, other than Indian-trading boats. The cabin was built by a Mr. Beard, and the place is now the city of Beardstown.

From the cabin I found a trail leading out towards Springfield, and I started on the trail afoot and alone. I had to wade a slough in the bottom knee-deep in water, and before I got to the first house on my road, fifteen miles out, occupied by Mr. Jobe, I met two teams going to the river; and as neither of them would have full loads, I turned back and made up their loads. As no one lived near, I had no fear of thieves. The whisky was in the most danger if found by the Indians, and was among the first articles hauled away. Besides, the wheat was about ready to cut, and at that day it was an uphill business and a drag to cut wheat without the aid of whisky. Upon my arrival at Springfield I employed teams to haul the goods. As there were about twenty-five tons of them, it took more than a month to do this, but it was finally accomplished without having the first thing disturbed or missing.

I now felt firmly rooted, and determined to seek no further, as I believed I was then in the center of the most extensive body of the richest land in the United States, or perhaps in the world; and don't yet think I was mistaken.

Upon my arrival I found my store house was not quite ready, for the want of nails, and you may believe it was a rough concern; but it answered my purpose. This was the first store house erected in Springfield or in the county, and I was the first one to sell goods in Springfield. For some time my sales were about as much to Indians as to the whites. For the first two years I had no competition, and my customers were widely and thinly scattered over the territory now comprised in the counties of Sangamon, Morgan, Scott, Cass, Mason, Menard, Logan, Macon, Christian, Macoupin, Tazewell, McLean, DeWitt, and Champaign. The settlements in

the last four were made after I opened my store. Many had to come more than eighty miles to trade. They were poor, and their purchases very light. There never was a more uniformly hospitable, honest, and industrious class of first settlers ever settled a new country.

The names of the settlers residing within the distance of two miles from the stake which had been set to mark a temporary county seat for Sangamon county, to be named Springfield, and who were instrumental in causing this site to be selected, were John Kelly, William Kelly, Andrew Elliot, Jacob Ellis, Levi Ellis, John Lindsay, Abram Lanterman, Mr. Dagget, and Samuel Little. These were the families with whom it was expected the judge and lawyers would find quarters until other accommodations could be provided. Some of the settlers who came later and settled over the larger district were of the more refined class, such as doctors, lawyers, school teachers, and preachers, and following in the train were some of the worse sort.

I first boarded with John Kelly, a North Carolinian and a widower. His household consisted of himself and two children, two younger brothers, George and Elisha, his aged father and mother, and myself. The board, to my notion, has never been excelled at any hotel I ever stopped at, either before or since. It consisted in part of the best milk and butter ever set before a man, corn bread (baked on a hoe and called hoe-cake, instead of on a board or in the ashes as in Kentucky), honey, venison, turkey, prairie chicken, quail, squirrel, fish, and occasionally for variety we had pig, together with all the varieties of vegetables raised in this climate. Deer were very plenty. They trailed through the town, up the town branch, halting in a grove where now stands the governor's mansion; and if we wanted fresh venison for breakfast the Kelly boys would go to the grove early and kill a deer.

In 1821, after building my store house and as soon as the land was surveyed, I laid claim to the quarter on which my house was built, and told all who chose to settle in the place that if I got the land I would give each a lot. We traced out a street east and west, and by the time the sales took place we had a village of about

150 inhabitants, and children enough for a school. Our court house was of rough logs, daubed with black mud. A platform for the judge's seat, and the seats for the lawyers, jurors, and others, were of split logs, and the jurors had all out-doors in which to decide on their verdict. . . .

In March, 1825, commissioners were appointed to select and fix permanently a site for the county seat of Sangamon county. After coming to Springfield they explored much of the surrounding country, for the purpose of viewing and making the selection. On their return to Springfield, one place had been entered by speculators on which to induce the commissioners to fix the site. It was four miles from town. The ground had thawed out and was soft and miry. The commissioners, worn and tired, went to look at the place. To go to it from town several sloughs and some marshy ground had to be crossed. Andrew Elliott, one of our citizens, who had been much over the ground hunting, agreed to pilot them. He told them that as the ravines were full and the marshy ground covered with water, they would find it a tedious trip, but he would do the best he could. He had his cue. They found the route almost impassable; but after they got to the place, which was on the river, they found it sightly, though difficult to get to, and asked him to try to find a better way to return. They found the route back not much better, having to cross water that nearly swam the horses. They had now viewed all the places spoken of as good sites for a town, and returned to Springfield to make up their minds.

The next day my wife gave them a good dinner. I said to them that if on consideration they selected Springfield as the permanent site, P. P. Enos and myself would give the county forty acres of land, and as they had had a tedious time and little pay, I would cash their warrants for them, although they were almost worthless, there being no money in the treasury. The result was, that Springfield was selected as the permanent county seat, and some thought that the good dinner my wife provided for the commissioners played its part.

Book Reviews

UNCLE JOE CANNON, ARCHFOE OF INSURGENCY: A HISTORY OF THE RISE AND FALL OF CANNONISM

By William Rea Gwinn. (Bookman Associates: New York, 1957. Pp. vii, 314. $4.00.)

Congressman for forty-four years from the Danville district in Illinois, defeated only three times in a period of fifty years (1890, 1912, 1914), Speaker for eight years (1903-1911), Uncle Joe Cannon is among the most powerful and picturesque figures in American politics, and yet is one who has himself received surprisingly scanty attention from historians and biographers.

The explanation for this lies no doubt in the fact that Presidents with whom Cannon served, such as Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, and the associated Progressive Movement, have received considerable attention, with incidental notice of Cannon's part in the events of those years. Nevertheless, this book has been badly needed, and fills a gap by concentrating on Cannon himself and especially on Cannon's relation to the Progressive Movement, for it was Cannonism and the things for which Cannonism stood that, as much as anything, brought about insurgency within the Republican Party and thus gave impetus to the Progressive cause. The author has diligently examined not only the Cannon papers (about 5,000 pieces of manuscript) and the vast quantity of books and articles covering the period, but also the papers of Cannon's contemporaries, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, George W. Norris, Henry T. Rainey, William Allen White, James R. Mann and Francis Burton Harrison. The result is a fine contribution to political literature and to our understanding of Uncle Joe.

Although most of the facts about Cannon's relation to the insurgents and Progressives were already generally known, this book contributes a good deal of detail; particularly it throws more light on the relations of Cannon, Roosevelt and Taft. Easy-going as he was, and politically dull as he sometimes seemed, Taft fully understood, as did Roosevelt, how much of a handicap Cannon was to the Republican Party during those insurgent and Progressive years. Taft was actually fearful in 1908 that Cannon's support might lose him the presidency.

"The burden I have to carry in this campaign is largely Cannonism," Taft wrote to Roosevelt; and he felt, with Roosevelt, that a Republican majority in Congress "so small that neither Cannon nor Tawney can be made Speaker" would be "on the whole an excellent result." Cannon, however, could not be persuaded to refrain from campaigning wherever he wished, and one is bound to admire his forthrightness in his challenge to the insurgents of his party. "Behold Mr. Cannon, the Beelzebub of Congress! Gaze on this noble, manly form — me, Beelzebub — me, the Czar!" is the way Cannon put it to an Elgin audience in 1909.

Uncle Joe and his Cannonism were ultimately defeated, and the author's detailed account of the events that brought about that defeat is an exciting story. But the moral of it all is also noticed in the conclusion, in the reminder that House rules are still the subject of vigorous debate and still seem to permit rigid control by a few. "Apparently the ghost of Joe Cannon still haunts the House of Representatives. . . . It appears that the issue of who is going to manage or to boss the activities of the House has not yet perished from the earth. And Joe Cannon has achieved a dubious kind of immortality, for his name is taken in vain whenever the subject is considered."

CLARENCE A. BERDAHL
University of Illinois

THE UNCIVIL WAR: WASHINGTON DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1878

By James H. Whyte. (Twayne Publishers: New York, 1958. Pp. 316. $5.00.)

Washington never really became the "city of magnificent distances" that Pierre Charles L'Enfant had planned until after the Civil War. Before that time it had been muddy and shoddy.

The stir of city planning came in along with Andrew Johnson and reached its height during the two terms of U. S. Grant. The wealthy Alexander Shepherd, one of Grant's "Kitchen Cabinet," was the guiding genius of the new Washington. He was governor of the territory of the District of Columbia and also a large property owner. Public-fund scandals attended the development, as did charges of conniving to benefit large real estate owners. But modern Washington got its start in those years.

Author James H. Whyte presents his researches in some detail, and the accounts of public investigations are dull reading. But, he also describes the Washington scene, which is most interesting.

The famed hostesses were Mrs. Hamilton Fish and Mrs. Kate Chase Sprague. Men on the stage included Senator Roscoe Conkling; the great Negro leader Frederick Douglass; Henry Cooke, brother of the financier Jay Cooke; and W. M. Corcoran, founder of the Corcoran Gallery.

In the period 1865-1878, the citizens of Washington had a vote. They also had integration upheavals much like those of today. At the end of the period, Congress made Washington a city without a vote. Whyte gives a good fill-in on these and similar facts about Washington during the Reconstruction era.

GILBERT G. TWISS
Chicago

PEOPLE OF COAL TOWN

By Herman R. Lantz with the assistance of J. S. McCrary. (Columbia University Press: New York, 1958. Pp. 310. $5.75.)

People of Coal Town is a sociological study of a coal mining community. Since a large measure of the material in the book concerns people still living, the fictitious name "Coal Town" has been given to the community studied. If the reviewer may be permitted an educated guess, the town is probably Zeigler, Illinois. Whether this guess is accurate or not, *Coal Town* makes an excellent companion piece for Paul Angle's *Bloody Williamson*. While the latter concerns a different community and is entirely historical in approach, *Coal Town* is a similar attempt to find out what makes the coal mining community the kind of place it is. Most of the material was collected in personal interviews with some 250 residents of the community. These interviews were conducted over a two-year period by three trained interviewers.

Professor Lantz comes to the conclusion that there is an upper, middle and lower "native-class" and likewise an upper, middle and lower "immigrant class." While there is some movement between these groups, they remain distinct. He believes that Coal Town has failed to prosper because there has been no leadership in the town "interested in the community *as a community* or in its perpetuation as a *cultural identity*." This lack of leadership comes in part from the fact that Coal Town started out as a company town. The company was interested in the town as a money-making proposition and had no feeling of identity with the community. Relationships among the townspeople have been impersonal, and generally there has been little identification of the individual with the society. Professor Lantz suggests that there can be no lasting condition of

law and order where the individual fails to identify himself with the community and society.

This reviewer would recommend the book to any reader interested in the Illinois scene. The verbatim reports of the interviews on many subjects are fascinating and shed a great deal of light on the attitudes of the immigrant toward the native, and vice versa. There are some minor criticisms to be made of the book. Professor Lantz sometimes lapses into the manner of speech of the people he has been interviewing. One example of this is the use of "law" to indicate the police. This leads to such intriguing statements as ". . . the law was illegal" (page 109).

DONALD F. TINGLEY
Eastern Illinois University

PRELMINARY INVENTORY OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT COLLECTION OF CONFEDERATE RECORDS (RECORD GROUP 109)

Compiled by Elizabeth Bethel. (*National Archives Publication No. 58-3*: Washington, 1957. Pp. 310.)

The National Archives prepares preliminary inventories "primarily for internal use" by its staff as finding-aids and as means of establishing archival control over large groups of records. It also distributes the inventories to historical journals for review. Developed from the Historical Records Survey inventories of the 1930's, the inventories' style and type of control have been remarkably stable during the past seventeen years. The preliminary inventory is a useful publication which enables scholars to locate and evaluate source material in public records. It is not a work of historical scholarship, but a catalog listing of source materials.

The one-hundred-first preliminary inventory appears at a time of increasing interest in the military aspects of the War between the States. Journalist-historians and legions of Civil War "buffs" will find much significant material in the War Department Collection of Confederate Records. The introduction contains a brief account of the dispersion of Confederate records after the fall of Richmond. On July 21, 1865, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton established an office for the "collection, safekeeping and publication of the 'Rebel Archives.' " Between 1865 and 1900, the War Department collected these records from a wide variety of sources. Their provenance is often doubtful, and some sub-groups resemble the local history closet of a county courthouse. Acquired by the Na-

tional Archives in 1938, the great bulk of the War Department Collection relates to operations of the Confederate Army. Military historians have gone behind the 128 books of the *Official Records* and used some of the significant source material described in the inventory of Record Group 109. Many of the records listed are of little historical value. Though non-military records of the Confederacy are a small part of the total listed in this volume, they contain information on phases of the war which have been ignored in the general preoccupation with military history. Taken with other Confederate records in the National Archives, the Library of Congress and the states, the War Department Collection is a valuable part of a vast army of documents ready for use in the literary "irrepressible conflict."

While understandable, it is unfortunate that the original order of the Confederate records has been so disarranged by the hazards of war and the notions of successive custodians. The scattered locations and the chaotic arrangement of the records covered by this inventory suggest the need for newer and more flexible finding-aids for public records.

M. J. Brichford
Illinois State Library, Archives Division

THE NEGRO IN INDIANA BEFORE 1900

By Emma Lou Thornbrough. (Indiana Historical Bureau: Indianapolis, 1957. *Indiana Historical Collections,* XXXVII. Pp. xiii, 412. $4.50.)

This study deals with the progress made by a minority group in a northern state toward equality. Largely confined to the period before 1900, it considers such problems as personal liberty, citizenship and suffrage. It is also the story of Negro population movements and their relationship to the whites in Indiana. In this light, the book is virtually a pioneer study in a field which historians have not yet fully exploited.

In spite of the provisions of the Ordnance of 1787, both slavery and involuntary servitude did exist in Indiana for many years. Anti-Negro sentiment manifested itself in the adoption of laws which limited the settlement of Negroes within the state. It was also evident in white efforts to persuade the Negro to emigrate to Liberia. The author concludes that little personal liberty existed for Negroes in the state until the twentieth century. This resulted in the creation of a society with little or no intermingling of the races. At the same time, the Negro developed his own racial consciousness and pride.

The question might be raised why the author stopped with the year 1900. She did so because this date saw the establishment of most of the racial patterns which have remained until the present day. The author concludes, too, that by 1900, the Negro had achieved a great deal of progress in legal and political realms. The private and personal victories are the story of the twentieth century, which she has brought down to the present day by means of a short epilogue.

Miss Thornbrough has written a most difficult history. She was handicapped by the nonexistence of original manuscript materials. Faced with this handicap, her work involved exhaustive research into newspapers and other primary sources from which she was forced to glean most of her information. Unfortunately, however, there is no bibliography.

The story of the Negro in Indiana is so thoughtfully presented that other historians might well follow her example in describing the life of the Negro in other northern states.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.
Maryland Historical Society

THE POOL AND IRVING VILLAGES: A STUDY OF HOPEWELL OCCUPATION IN THE ILLINOIS RIVER VALLEY
By John C. McGregor. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1958. Pp. 232.)

John C. McGregor has been professor of anthropology at the University of Illinois for ten years. During that time he has organized an archaeological research program dealing largely with the problem of the Hopewell culture in the lower Illinois River Valley area. This publication is his first report on the program and its results.

The Hopewell peoples lived in the Illinois River Valley area from as early as 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. Although evidences of their culture have been known for years, the details of their occupation of the lower Illinois River Valley have been lacking. McGregor's report is a partial remedy for this lack. One of the specific goals stated by McGregor was the outlining of "a sound and detailed chronology" of the area. This goal is largely achieved in the presentation of a chronology based both on the study of minute stylistic changes in ceramic motifs and on the establishment of certain specific dates by radiocarbon assay.

Notable among the finds in the villages excavated were the remains of two houses. Since only two such structures had been previously known, these finds add greatly to our knowledge of Hopewell village life. Charred fragments of Indian corn also were

found. It had long been suspected that the Hopewell Indians were agriculturists, but this is the first corroborating evidence found in Illinois.

McGregor's report is obviously intended for the specialist, both professional and amateur, in Illinois archaeology, and most of the pages are filled with detailed description and analysis. Chapters 10 and 11 — devoted to summary, synthesis and hypothesis — give a general view of the contributions of the excavated sites as well as an outline of some of the problems regarding the Hopewell people. One misses here any serious consideration of the subsistence base of this culture and the nature of the social structure of these people.

There is one point worthy of mention, viz.: the dilemma of the long-time range of Hopewell in Illinois, as indicated by McGregor's discussion of radiocarbon dates on pages 21 and following. If the dates listed are accepted at face value, a time range of over 1700 years is given for Hopewell, 550 B.C. to 1200 A.D. However, the earliest of the dates discussed by McGregor is taken from a clam shell, and it is known that such samples yield age determinations consistently earlier than other materials such as charcoal. Therefore it seems that the date 549 B.C., give or take 300 years, for the lower levels of the Pool Site should be disregarded. Secondly, McGregor quotes dates previously given on the Wilson Mound in White County as 1242 A.D. More recently, however, additional age determinations have been published on the White County sample, giving an age of about the time of Christ. This dating agrees with the first tests on the White County materials made by Libby at the University of Chicago. The range for "classic" Hopewell materials in Illinois is thus narrowed to the period 400 B.C. to 300 A.D., and that for "late" Hopewell sites to an age centering around 500 A.D.

To the historian dealing with the past of Illinois in terms of European settlement and documentation based upon written records, such a report as McGregor's may seem an incomplete chronicle. Yet he has presented a segment of cultural history, a documentation of man's existence in Illinois thousands of years before Marquette's courageous exploration of the Illinois River Valley in 1673. As such, this book should be of concern to the historian, for the historian and the archaeologist have common objectives in learning about man's past though they use different techniques and study different types of materials. From the studies of both, however, we can learn something of man and his works, and from the past can gain insights for guiding the future.

Melvin L. Fowler
Illinois State Museum

LINCOLN'S EDUCATION AND OTHER ESSAYS

By M. L. Houser. Edited by Louis A. R. Yates. (Bookman Associates: New York, 1957. Pp. 356. $4.00.)

The late M. L. Houser had a deep interest in the books that Abraham Lincoln read and published several lengthy articles on this subject. Six of these essays have been reprinted in this book, and other writings of Houser have been added to make seventeen chapters in all. One chapter lists the books which Lincoln is supposed to have read. Students of Lincoln's life will be pleased to have this material collected between the covers of one book.

In checking six of the original articles against their published form in this book, this reviewer could find very little editing. Those changes or additions which he did find should have been enclosed in brackets instead of parentheses, and on page 57 the confusion in regard to the old style "s" has been repeated. The selected list of books and essays about Lincoln (Chapter Seventeen) should have been brought up to date by the editor. There is no mention of the recent biographies of Lincoln by Benjamin P. Thomas, Carl Sandburg, or Stefan Lorant. Nor is J. G. Randall's four-volume study listed on page 328 where it belongs. No bibliography of the assassination is complete without reference to the work of Otto Eisenschiml. The footnote style might also have been improved. The one used is a cross between those of the scientists and the historians, without the good points of either.

WAYNE C. TEMPLE
Lincoln Memorial University

NORTHWESTERN MUTUAL LIFE: A CENTURY OF TRUSTEESHIP

By Harold F. Williamson and Orange A. Smalley. (Northwestern University Press: Evanston, Ill., 1957. Pp. 368. $7.50.)

"Even the most sanguine member of the Wisconsin Legislature that approved the charter of the organization which was to become the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company could hardly have envisioned the future growth of that institution. As of January 1957, within two months of the centennial anniversary of the granting of the charter, . . . measured in terms of assets, Northwestern stood fourteenth among the billion-dollar companies of the United States; and of firms located west of the Alleghenies, it was outranked only by General Motors, United States Steel, and the Bank of America." These sentences explain why the centennial history of this company was picked as Volume Four of

Northwestern University's *Studies in Business History.*

Though a Wisconsin corporation, the company has sold insurance in Illinois since 1864, and twelve Chicagoans have served on its board of trustees. The book, written in layman's language, takes the reader from the beginning — when $3,500 in claims from a train wreck on the Chicago & North Western bade fair to bankrupt the infant company — to its present size and importance. Fifty-six tables, thirty-seven charts, and illustrations by John Faragasso add to the attractiveness of the format.

While *Northwestern Mutual Life* will hardly be read through by any but those particularly interested in life insurance or business history, the first few chapters — before the discussion becomes technical — will be of interest to the general reader, and furnish a good example of entrepreneurship in the early days of the Midwest.

J. N. A.

THE GREAT EB: THE STORY OF THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA

By Herman Kogan. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1958. Pp. 339. $4.95.)

Although the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* that "most valuable digest of human knowledge," has been an Illinois institution for nearly half a century, few listings of the state's cultural assets have included it. Not only is it an Illinois institution, but, except for the Rockefellers, it is the largest supporter of another Illinois institution, the University of Chicago. It was given to the University by Sears, Roebuck in 1941, and since that time its owner has realized more than five and one-half million dollars from the gift.

But *EB* was not always such a fabulously successful enterprise. It started with an idea, and in its 190 years has had its ups and downs — and if such a thing is possible, there have been fewer ups than downs. These and the colorful characters — or "personalities" — that have been associated with it are what go to make up Herman Kogan's story.

The title page of the first edition stated that *EB* was being issued "by a Society of Gentlemen in Scotland." This "society" consisted of two partners and a list of subscribers who agreed to back the enterprise. One of the partners, Andrew Bell, was an engraver of dog collars, and the other, Colin Macfarquhar, was an Edinburgh printer and literary pirate. As editor they hired William Smellie who, at twenty-eight, had already acquired a name among Edinburgh's intelligentsia

as "a veteran in wit, genius and bawdry." Pamphlet sections of the first volume were issued periodically in 1768, and the volume was bound the following year. In 1771 the third and final volume of the first edition of the *Britannica* was completed. It contained 2,659 pages — about two million words — and included 160 copperplate engravings by Bell, among which were a detailed drawing of Noah's Ark and a map of North America.

Smellie refused the partners' offer to edit the second edition when they proposed the inclusion of biographies of living persons — at the insistence of one of their heavier subscribers. Smellie thought that history should be given a chance to judge their worthiness. Thus Bell and Macfarquhar were forced to look for a new editor. The man they found was James Tytler, whom they rescued from a debtors' sanctuary; they paid his debts and set him to work. By 1784 he had put together 101 pamphlets, which were bound into ten volumes — 8,595 pages — for the second edition.

Tytler started on the third edition, but, at the same time, he was devoting some of his energies to other interests — among them balloon flying. "Balloon Tytler," as he was known, survived several flights in hot-air balloons, only to be forced to leave the country in 1793 after having written a slightly seditious pamphlet for the "Friends of the People." He came to Massachusetts, where he died in 1805 following a drinking bout. Macfarquhar took up Tytler's editorial duties, but he died in less than a year, and the third edition was finally completed by George Glieg, whom Bell hired. By this time *Britannica* had grown to eighteen volumes and nearly 15,000 pages.

The pattern thus set by the first three editions was maintained for the next five under a variety of owners and editors. One of the few innovations during this period was the use of foreign writers. The first American author was Edward Everett — the other speaker on the platform at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863. His contribution was a 40,000-word biographical eulogy of George Washington in the eighth edition.

Then came the famous ninth or "scholars' edition" with its 1,100 contributors, including some from nearly all the nations of Europe and the United States. Its 16,000 articles stretched to 20,504 pages, bound in twenty-five volumes. Among the contributors was Thomas Huxley, who, naturally, wrote on biology, evolution and kindred subjects. Others included Algernon Charles Swinburne, William Rossetti, and Russian Prince Petr Alekseevich Kropotkin — who wrote on "anarchism." Robert Louis Stevenson's article on Robert Burns was rejected for

"want of enthusiasm."

Early in 1896 Horace Everett Hooper arrived on the scene. An American book salesman and promoter, Hooper possessed an unusual combination of idealism and hard business sense. Although he was in England on a vacation, he soon saw great sales possibilities in *EB*. From then until 1920 the *Britannica* story is the story of Horace Hooper, and it takes up a large part of the book — from page 71 to 204.

Hooper and several partners bought *EB* in 1897 and immediately launched a plan to bring out a reprint of the ninth edition. To sell it he introduced American-style advertising and installment sales, and secured the backing of the practically-insolvent but proud *London Times*. The venture proved immensely successful, and Hooper went on to bring out new editions and to sell them through picturesque and novel promotional schemes. When the *Times* contract ran out, he secured the even more valuable sponsorship of Cambridge University. In the course of time Hooper attained full control of *EB* — after prolonged court battles with the last of his partners. He transferred his printing operations to Chicago in 1909 and then, in 1920, sold the property to Sears, Roebuck & Co. through his friend Julius Rosenwald, president of the mail-order house. The sale followed one of Hooper's periodic financial crises, but one that he could hardly have anticipated — governmental curtailment of installment selling during World War I. After the sale Hooper continued as editor of *EB* until his death in 1922.

EB was not exactly the kind of merchandise Sears executives were accustomed to selling, and they lost little time in getting it off their hands — only to have it come back when the new owners were unable to repay about two million dollars Rosenwald had generously advanced in anticipation of a successful fourteenth edition. The man who finally negotiated the gift to the University of Chicago was William Benton, former United States Senator from Connecticut and before that a successful advertising executive, but then a vice-president of the University. Although General Robert E. Wood, head of Sears, made the original offer following a luncheon with Benton two days after Pearl Harbor, more than a year of negotiations was necessary before the transfer was completed. And then Benton had to dig into his own pocket for $100,000 to put *EB* on its feet.

Sears' fears that World War II would bring the encyclopedia a repetition of the near disaster of World War I proved entirely unfounded. On the contrary, the shortage of consumer goods, such as automobiles (and gasoline), radios and household appliances, made so much more money avail-

able for "cultural goods" that *EB* enjoyed its most prosperous years. The sales slump that followed the war, however, almost swamped the business — but after a hectic six months it was back on an even keel, where it has stayed ever since.

In contrast to the first set of three volumes and approximately two million words, the current *Britannica* consists of twenty-four volumes and 38,258,426 words (43,512 articles and 27,247 pages). As a combination of scholarship and big business it also operates a number of subsidiary enterprises — which would have delighted Horace Hooper. These include Britannica Films (world's largest classroom-movie producer), the Great Books project, *Britannica Junior, Year Book, World Language Dictionary,* and the Library Research Service.

The present-day policy of continuous revision also is in contrast to the earlier practice of issuing a new set at the rate of a volume at a time every ten years or so. Under the old system, when Lord Rayleigh was asked to write an article on "light" and he missed the "L" volume deadline the article was rescheduled under "optics." He missed again, and it was moved up to "undulating theory of light," and then finally appeared as "wave theory of light." Nor is the present-day permanent staff likely to err as did an earlier inexperienced worker who is said to have indexed "Virginia Reel" under biography, "defense mechanism" under military, "gallstones" under geology, "incest" under business, and "Pope Innocent" under law.

The latter incident is but one of hundreds of sidelight anecdotes that make *The Great EB* by far the most entertaining business history of the year. Herman Kogan, the author, in collaboration with Lloyd Wendt, has also written *Lords of the Levee,* the story of "Bathhouse John" Coughlin and "Hinky Dink" Kenna; *Big Bill of Chicago,* a biography of Mayor William Hale Thompson; and *Give the Lady What She Wants,* a history of Marshall Field & Co. Until September 1 he was literary and drama editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times,* but on that date he joined the staff of the Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. "in an executive position" — which should settle any doubts about whether some people liked the book or not.

H.F.R.

News and Comment

Activities Of Local Historical Societies

The Alton Area Historical Society joined the Madison County Society for the latter's program on May 11 at Granite City.

The Arlington Heights Historical Society entered its second year at its meeting on June 27. The Society is gradually increasing its collection of old pictures, maps, newspapers and business and family histories. Officers for the coming year are: Albert F. Volz, president; Theodore Militzer, vice-president; Mrs. Marjorie B. Allen, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Stephen Jurco, recording secretary; Virgil K. Horath, treasurer; and Mrs. Milton Daniels, curator.

The Aurora Historical Society held open house at its museum at Cedar Street and Oak Avenue during the week of May 11-16. Members of the Aurora Cosmopolitan Club joined members of the Historical Society in acting as volunteer guides and answering visitors' questions. The occasion also marked the opening of the new transportation building, behind the main museum, featuring such vehicles as old bicycles, automobiles and carriages.

Stephen A. Douglas was the topic for discussion at the meeting of the Bond County Historical Society in the courthouse at Greenville on April 9, in connection with the centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. The planned opening of the Society's museum display on the second floor of the courthouse had to be postponed, since more items were continuing to come in and Carl Gobberdiel had not finished work on the display cases.

J. Edward Fay was host to a tea on May 4, at his 104-year-old home, the "Stevens house," for the benefit of the Bureau County Historical Society. Over 700 guests from fifty-four towns and cities attended.

At the Society's annual meeting on June 10, all officers were re-elected. They are: Frank Grisell, president; Mrs. Allie Whitney, vice-president; Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, secretary; and Duncan L. Bryant, treasurer. Mrs. Perry D. Trimble and Judge W. Wimbiscus were named to the board of directors. Mrs. Whitney, chairman of the membership drive, reported sixteen new life memberships during the year, and 296

annual members. Mr. and Mrs. Clifford S. Leonard showed colored slides of historic sites and homes in Illinois, and Durbin H. Downey led a discussion of the formation of a "Historic Homes Committee" in the Society. Mrs. F. R. Bryant, curator of the Society's museum, reported that 1,270 children and 860 adults had visited it in the past year.

The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) held its annual spring meeting on May 9, in the Julia A. Baker Auditorium of the Woodlawn Regional Branch Library, 6247 Kimbark Avenue. Judge George Quilici of the Municipal Court spoke on "Woodlawn as I Remember It." Mrs. Orin Wright presented musical selections, and refreshments were served. Elizabeth Gray is president of the Society and H. D. Ludlow membership chairman.

The annual spring tea of the Du Page County Historical Society was held in the Elmhurst Public Library on May 4. This year's tea also served as a reception for H. Gilbert Foote, who has made the drawings of historical houses and landmarks for the Society's annual *Portfolios,* and inaugurated a display of Mr. Foote's drawings and watercolors, which remained on exhibition at the Library for six weeks.

The late Mrs. Myrtle Renwick Heer, for many years president of the Galena Historical Society, was honored at an open-house meeting on April 21 by the dedication of a flag in her honor. This flag, which becomes the official emblem of the Society, bears the figure of a boat from the old city seal, surrounded by the organization's motto, *Videte historiam vestram* (See your history). Society members conducted visitors on a tour of the museum in the Community Building; Jerry Kohlbauer, Jr., accompanied by Eustice Klein, provided special music, and refreshments were served. On display for the first time — and appropriately, at the beginning of Ulysses S. Grant's birthday week — was a collection of stamps, covers and money featuring the picture of the General. The collection was purchased by Mrs. Richard Leach of Evanston and presented to the Society for display. At this meeting President Vera Millhouse reported on the Society's progress during the past year and its plans for the year ahead, including necessary repairs on the Community Building, which is leased to the Society with maintenance replacing a monetary rental.

On April 28 Mrs. Helen Duprey Bullock, historian for the National Trust for Historic Preservation and former archivist at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, addressed the Society, showing slides of projects pertaining to the preservation of historical landmarks throughout

the United States. She urged that at least the façades of Galena's historic buildings be kept unaltered, even though the interiors might be remodeled for twentieth-century use.

The Society held a historical film festival on May 12 and its annual business meeting and election of directors on June 2. On June 26 the members joined the Dubuque County (Iowa) Historical Society on a three-hour boat trip on the Mississippi from Dubuque.

All officers of the Geneva Historical Society were re-elected at the annual meeting on May 18. They are: Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, president; Frank Jarvis and Mary Wheeler, vice-presidents; Mrs. Margaret A. Allan, secretary; and Jeanita Peterson, treasurer. The board of directors consists of Harold L. Smith, Mrs. R. A. Davis, Oliver J. Adamson, Alice Swarthout, William K. Bullock and Mrs. O. B. Simon. The membership of the Society now stands at ninety-seven annual and twenty-four life members. Two more plaques for century-old houses were presented: one to the William Conant house (now the office of Dr. Rodney B. Nelson), and the other to the Jones house (now the office of Harding & Harding).

Addison Hapeman of Woodlawn was the speaker at the dinner meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society on June 9 at the Lutheran Church. His talk was illustrated with slides of Ozark views and wild flowers. President Charles E. Simmons presided.

The Kankakee County Historical Society petitioned the Board of Supervisors for a $300 appropriation to restore the century-old Van Meter Cemetery, containing some forty graves. The restoration, if made, will be supervised and maintained without remuneration by Society members.

The La Salle County Historical Society met at the Mendota Baptist Church on May 18. Mrs. Edgar Cook, vice-president, presided in the absence of President John Graham, and told some of the early history of Mendota. Watson Bartlett gave an illustrated talk on La Salle County wild flowers and their medicinal significance.

Louise Travous of Edwardsville spoke at the meeting of the Lewis and Clark Historical Society on June 8 in the Wood River Public Library. Her subject was the history of the area prior to the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Ross V. Randolph, Logan County native and warden of the Menard penitentiary, was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Logan County Historical Society on June 8 at the

Chestnut School. The Rev. Roy Trueblood gave the invocation, and Clifford Leimbach welcomed the group. Short papers on the history of Chestnut, its school and its Methodist and Zion Lutheran churches were read by Mrs. Leonard Obery, Joseph E. Armstrong, Mrs. Eugene Kretzinger and Alvin Rentschler, respectively. Special music was furnished by the Chestnut school chorus, Mrs. Dorothy Fay accompanying; and by Barbara Stoll, Marian Dierker, John Randolph and Norma Neuschafer. At the business meeting following the program, reports on the Mount Pulaski and Postville courthouse restorations were given, and the following officers elected: William A. Komnick, president; E. H. Lukenbill and James T. Hickey, vice-presidents; N. L. Gordon, secretary; and George A. Volle, treasurer.

The Alton Area, Land o' Goshen and Lewis and Clark Historical Societies were special guests of the Madison County Historical Society at the latter's thirty-seventh annual spring meeting, held at the Granite City Public Library on May 4. After an hour's outdoor concert by the sixty-year-old Tate's Band, directed by Dr. A. H. Rode, the program began with the invocation by the Rev. Ira Thetford, pastor of Niedringhaus Memorial Methodist Church.

Judge Fred P. Schuman of the city court of Granite City welcomed the group, and President Donald F. Lewis of the Madison County Society responded. Dr. Rode spoke on the history of Tate's Band. Illinois Assistant Attorney General Randall Robertson spoke on "Granite City's Growth and Its Mayors." Anna Frohardt and Mrs. Walter Klein, accompanied by Mrs. Edith Schell, sang a duet. Jessie Springer, curator of the Society's museum, gave a short talk on the museum. Irving Dilliard, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, paid tribute to Mrs. Olive B. Stallings upon her retirement as librarian of the Granite City Public Library. Paul A. Grigsby, superintendent of schools of Granite City and past president of the Illinois Education Association, spoke on "Granite City — The Beginning and Development."

Henry D. Karandjeff, chairman of the board of the Granite City Trust & Savings Bank, presented a plaque to commemorate the birthplace of Granite City at the old Kinderhook Church at Twenty-second and Benton streets, now the site of the Emerson School. The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. J. P. Jordan, pastor of St. Joseph's Catholic Church.

Paul Heike of Wenona addressed the Marshall County Historical Society on April 28, showing Indian relics collected both at his former home in northern Wisconsin and in Marshall Coun-

ty. It was voted not to hold a meeting in May, since the regular date would conflict with school commencements and Memorial Day exercises.

On June 30 the Society met at the John F. Boose home in Henry. Arthur Stickel of Princeton showed photographs of the Gettysburg battlefield, and a historical film featuring a re-enactment of the Battle of Gettysburg was also shown.

Good progress is being made on the Essley-Noble Museum of History in Aledo under the sponsorship of the Mercer County Historical Society. The public opening is planned for this autumn.

The Nauvoo Historical Society held its quarterly meeting on April 15. As usual, the Society has charge this year of the museum in the Rheinberger house in Nauvoo State Park.

The Ogle County Historical Society met at the Oregon Farm Bureau Building on May 26. Armour Van Briesen of Stillman Valley showed colored slides of historic points in Ogle County, and music was furnished by the Oregon Community High School choruses, directed by Russel Vroman.

Mrs. Dorothy Cook of Pinckneyville presented a sound film on "Illinois State Parks" before the Perry County Historical Society on April 7. The meeting was held at Tamaroa.

At a dinner meeting in Du Quoin on May 5, Carl B. Jewell of Manteno presented to the Society the sword worn by his grandfather, Captain Edmund R. Jones, of Company F, 80th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, from the time of his muster-in at Centralia on August 25, 1862, until April 30, 1863, when he was killed in action. The complete roster of Company F was read, and tribute paid to its members. President Raymond Lee presided.

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County was held at its museum building on June 6. The members voted to increase the Society's life-membership fee from $25 to $50, and to introduce a twenty-five-cent charge for adults visiting the museum — except for Society members, and teachers accompanying school groups. Among the new exhibits at the museum is Illinois' first fire engine, originally brought to Quincy in 1839. The Society is fortunate in owning not only its museum building but also two modern revenue-producing apartment buildings. All officers of the Society were re-elected for another year. They are: George M. Irwin, president; James W. Carrott and Oliver B. Williams, vice-presidents; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Mrs. William Wessels, corresponding

secretary; Harvey Sprick, treasurer; W. Edwin Brown, Edward P. Lannan and William F. Gerdes, Jr., trustees. Mrs. Jane Bowman is curator of the Society's museum, located in the old home of Governor John Wood. This building was constructed almost at the same time as the Governor's Mansion in Springfield and was designed by the same architect, John Murray Van Osdel.

The Randolph County Historical Society met at the Dreamland Cafe in Sparta on March 27 and discussed plans for publishing a history of the county. Mrs. John S. Gilster, president, presided. A collection of antique music boxes was on display.

Charles Van Ravenswaay, director of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, was the principal speaker at a dinner meeting of the Randolph County Society at Sparta on April 18, at which members of the Chester Woman's Club, the Sparta Business and Professional Women's Club, the Monday Club of Sparta and the D.A.R. were special guests. Van Ravenswaay's talk, illustrated with slides, showed various restorations of historic sites in the Midwest, particularly in St. Louis and Bishop Hill. Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant of the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, reported on the work accomplished to that date in the restoration of the Pierre Menard home. During the dinner hour, high-fidelity tape recordings of old-time carrousel and calliope music were played, and Mrs. Walter Lowe of Sparta spoke briefly on the subject. Past President Ebers R. Schweizer acted as master of ceremonies, and the Rev. Father Carl Pimeskern of the Immaculate Conception Church of Kaskaskia gave the invocation.

On June 5 the Perry County and Randolph County societies held a joint meeting at the 111-year-old home built by Thomas Swanwick, about 2½ miles northeast of the village named for him. One of Thomas Swanwick's sons married Julia, daughter of Illinois' first governor, Shadrach Bond; and one of his daughters became the wife of United States Senator David Jewett Baker. After going through the home, the Society members enjoyed a chicken dinner at the Swanwick United Presbyterian Church.

The spring dinner meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held in Plymouth Congregational Church, Moline, on April 29. Following the dinner and business meeting the members toured Butterworth Center and saw a color film of Louis Hauberg's trip around the world in 1957. Colonel Carl A. Waldmann reported on progress in the campaign to save the old home of George Davenport on Arsenal Island. Officers elected at this

meeting are: Bestor Witter, president; Colonel Waldmann and G. Hollister Boardman, vice-presidents; Mrs. James Burke, secretary; F. E. Mueller, treasurer; Helen Marshall, archivist; Dudley Marshall, Claire V. Golden and Louis Hauberg, members of the advisory board; Dr. O. F. Ander, Florence Liebbe, H. W. Coddington, Charles Ainsworth and Mrs. William Parks, directors.

The Saline County Historical Society's meeting held on May 6 featured a panel discussion of "Early Law Practices in Saline and Adjoining Counties." Panelists were Colonel Charles Durfee, 94, dean of the Southern Illinois bar; Judge K. C. Ronalds, former state representative; and Charles H. Thompson, former state senator and Supreme Court justice. During the discussion period following the panelists' speeches, short but informative talks were made by Attorney Mable Scott of Harrisburg and Attorney D. L. Duty of Marion; the latter was state's attorney of Williamson County during the time of the gang warfare there. Mrs. Genevieve McCoy of Eldorado gave a humorous reading; Curt Parish spoke briefly on his work for the L. L. Cook Company of Milwaukee, as a photographer of scenic and historic spots in southern Illinois; his pictures are used on postcards advertising the Shawnee Hills Recreation Association. Reports were also given on the progress of restoration at Shawneetown and on prospects for a historical museum in the county. Mrs. Inez Trigg presided at a social hour. The meeting was held in the Mitchell-Carnegie Library at Harrisburg.

On June 3 the Society took its first summer field trip, meeting at the Village Church (originally Indian Village Cumberland Presbyterian Church) near Omaha. A potluck supper was served in the churchyard under the oak tree where the church was organized in 1819. After the supper, Society members went indoors to hear a number of local residents tell of the history of the church and community.

Mrs. Ella K. Mosley of Metropolis addressed the Shawnee Hills Recreation Association at its meeting in Tiny's Café, Brookport, on May 19.

The annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society was held on May 9 at its museum, 1440 South Carroll Avenue, Freeport. Mrs. Carl H. Neyhart, author of *Henry's Lincoln,* spoke on "Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas in 1858." The Society's principal project for the summer was participation in the centennial commemoration of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Freeport.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford presented its annual

midsummer festival in Sinnissippi Park on June 22.

The Vandalia Historical Society held its final meeting of the 1957-1958 year in the old Statehouse on May 27. Fayette County Superintendent of Schools Lynn Price discussed the campaign of 1858. Biographical sketches of county candidates in that election — Wilson Campbell, A. P. N. Doyle and L. D. Morey — had been prepared by Joseph C. Burtschi and were read by the Rev. Roscoe Coen, Alenia McCord and Edyth Hausmann.

The Society held its annual Memorial Day tea and reception for returning former Vandalians at the First Presbyterian Church on May 30.

Sam Atkinson of McLeansboro showed colored slides of a hunting trip to the Arctic before the Wayne County Historical Society on April 25.

The Rev. S. S. Lappin of Bedford, Indiana, a native of Geff and author of *Run, Sammy, Run* and other books, addressed the Society on June 27.

The village of New Haven was the subject of the White County Historical Society's meeting on April 28. Secretary James Robert Endicott reported a membership of 154.

The Williamson County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting at the Marion Carnegie Library on April 13. Mrs. Paul Wheeler, Sr., addressed the group on "Folklore of Southern Illinois."

Officers of the Winnetka Historical Society for 1958-1959 are: Lloyd A. Faxon, president; Mary S. King, president emeritus; Harold L. Orwin, vice-president; Mrs. Chester E. Bauman, secretary; Edward C. Vandenhurgh, treasurer; Mrs. Harry H. Barnum, Samuel S. Otis and W. H. King, Jr., trustees; Mrs. Charles Howells Coffin, Mrs. Frederick Dickinson and Stewart Boal, directors.

Association Compiles Historical Guidebook

The American Historical Association is compiling a *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada,* a desk reference book that will tell where to find important bodies of microfilmed and other photocopied materials. Readers of this *Journal* are asked to send information about such holdings to the editor, Dr. Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston University, Copley Square Campus, 84 Exeter Street, Room 401, Boston 16, Massachusetts.

Journal

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Clyde C. Walton
MANAGING EDITOR

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Dues are $3 a year, or $50 for Life Membership. Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library has large holdings of, and specializes in, Lincolniana and the Civil War period.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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WINTER 1958

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F. GARVIN DAVENPORT

Natural Scientists and the Farmers Of Illinois, 1865-1900

Along with his duties as head of the History Department at Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois, F. Garvin Davenport has now taken on direction of the Summer Session. He is, however, continuing his study of the history of science in Illinois, on which this article and one in the Autumn, 1957, issue of the Journal *were based.*

ONE ASPECT of the intellectual life in Illinois during the last third of the nineteenth century was a genuine interest in science.[1] This interest ranged from the amateur to the distinctly professional level and stimulated contributions in biology, geology, chemistry, physics, astronomy, dentistry and medicine.[2] This activity was not isolated or peculiar, but simply the Illinois phase of the general scientific advancement of the nineteenth century.

In keeping with the trends of the times, Illinois scientists were promoting higher professional standards, more exacting research and the application of scientific knowledge to the needs of a civilization becoming increasingly complex. In Europe and America, progress in agriculture, medicine, sanitary engineering, technology and industry was made pos-

1. The basic research for this article was made possible by grants from the American History Research Center and the Monmouth College Faculty Development Fund.

2. In biology, for example, Thomas Jonathan Burrill was a pioneer in plant bacteriology; see T. J. Burrill, "The Pear and Peach Blight," *The American Agriculturist,* XXXIX (1880): 514. Chemistry was indispensable in research concerning corn

sible by adapting the results of the laboratory and the experimental station to the specific problems of the farmer, the physician and the businessman. Illinois scientists contributed their share to this general movement.

In most cases, the Illinois contributions were neither complete nor uniform in value. Additional research and testing by other scientists was often necessary to establish the validity of a claim or a discovery. Thus, the work of the Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station at Urbana was checked out and either supported or modified by similar research conducted in other states.[3] Thomas J. Burrill, who gave the first course in bacteriology in the United States at the University of Illinois,[4] attracted international attention for his pioneer work in plant bacteriology, but scientists and horticulturists could not agree on the value or the truth of the Burrill claims. Only with additional experiments and the stabilizing influence of time did the controversy die down, leaving Burrill to stand as one of the founders of a new branch of biology.[5]

breeding and projects based on the relation between feed and milk production; see Cyril G. Hopkins, "Composition and Digestibility of Corn Ensilage . . . ," *Bulletins of the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Illinois,* No. 43 (1896), 181-208. A. A. Michelson at the University of Chicago brought his knowledge of physics to bear on certain astronomical problems; see his "On the Application of Interference Methods to Astronomical Measurements," in *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences,* V (Washington, 1891): 586-90. Illinois physicians and dentists were very active in this period, and by 1900 they had made Chicago an important medical center; see Thomas Neville Bonner, *Medicine in Chicago, 1850-1950* . . . (Madison, 1957), 84 ff.

3. A good history of agriculture for the period is Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier* . . . (New York, 1945); see also A. C. True, "Agricultural Experiment Stations in the United States," *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1899* (Washington, 1900), 513-48.

4. Frederick P. Gorham, "The History of Bacteriology and Its Contributions to Public Health Work," in Mazÿck P. Ravenel, ed., *A Half Century of Public Health* (New York, 1921), 72.

5. J. C. Arthur, "Proof that Bacteria Are the Direct Cause of the Disease in Trees Known as Pear

In the same way, Stephen Forbes, state entomologist and university professor, became an authority on the food of fishes and birds, but his research and experimentation was aided and substantiated by other scientists working along similar lines in other parts of the country.[6] Scientists, like all scholars, form a community of interest, and their combined intellectual activities and research make progress possible. Illinois scientists in the nineteenth century were no exceptions. Whether they were mapping a geological formation, analyzing the doctrine of evolution, or making a microscopic examination of the chinch bug, they relied not alone on their own initiative and imagination but on the cumulative knowledge of their colleagues. In some cases they went outside the scientific fraternity and enlisted the help of laymen, who, in the long run, were to receive the benefits of scientific endeavor. In some cases, too, they were directly inspired by the needs of the common man. Consequently, while most of the significant scientific impulses came from the universities and laboratories, powerful motivations could and did come from the people. In Illinois, a good example of this sort of motivation was the influence exerted on the state entomologist by the farmers.

A state entomologist, according to Stephen Forbes, was a person who served a very heterogeneous public with a wide variety of interests. He was expected to be a miracle man with a sure cure for all types of blight, beetles and worms

Blight," *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 1885* (Philadelphia, 1886), 295; Arthur, "Diseases of the Pear," *Third Annual Report of the New York Agricultural Experiment Station, 1884* (Albany, 1885), 357-67.

6. For example, similar work was done by Samuel Aughey of Nebraska and F. H. King of Wisconsin. See Samuel Aughey, "Notes on the Nature of the Food of Birds of Nebraska," *First Annual Report of the United States Entomological Commission, 1877* (Washington, 1878), App. 2, pp. 13-62; for King's work see *Geology of Wisconsin,* I (Madison, 1883): 441-610.

which attacked the grain fields and fruit orchards. He was expected to charge to the attack the moment the bugle sounded the warning that the army worms were on the march or that the ravenous chinch bugs had made a sneak attack on the wheat fields. When aroused growers announced that the fruit bark beetle was destroying all the orchards of the state, it was the entomologist who calmed their fears and promised that something would be worked out. The entomologist served the farmer, the schoolteacher and the scientist. He was a combined soothsayer, medicine man, educator, researcher and politician. He was closer to the people than any other scientist with the exception of the family physician.

The office of state entomologist was officially created by the Illinois legislature in 1867.[7] This was no precedent-setting action, since Massachusetts and New York had been promoting official investigations of insect life since the 1840's and 1850's.[8] In June, 1867, Illinois' Governor Richard Oglesby nominated Benjamin D. Walsh for the new post, but the senate postponed action on the nomination until March, 1869, when the appointment was made official. Meantime, Walsh was acting entomologist, and although his position was precarious pending the final action of the senate, he began to collect data for his first report, which appeared in 1868.

Walsh was well qualified for the position even though

7. *Public Laws of the State of Illinois, 1867,* 35-36; *1869,* 53-54. In 1883 the Office of the State Entomologist and the State Laboratory of Natural History were placed under one director, and in 1917 they were legally united as the Natural History Survey (a division of the Department of Registration and Education), with offices at the University of Illinois, Urbana.

8. L. O. Howard, "Progress in Economic Entomology in the United States," *Yearbook of the U. S. Dept. of Agric., 1899,* 135-56, esp. 136-38.

his early training had been for the ministry and not for a scientific career.[9] Of English birth, he migrated to the United States several years after he had earned the master's degree at Cambridge University in 1833. From 1838 until his death in 1869, he lived in Illinois and considered Rock Island his home. After 1860, Walsh spent most of his time collecting insects, studying their habits and attempting to breed them under controlled conditions in his laboratory. At one time it was estimated that he possessed 30,000 mounted and classified specimens, a collection that was regarded as a standard reference of national significance.[10] He was well known to leading biologists in the United States and Europe, and corresponded with officials of the Smithsonian Institution.[11]

In 1865 Walsh founded and edited the *Practical Entomologist,*[12] which was the first journal of its type ever published. This publication was short-lived, but in 1868 he joined forces with another well-known midwest naturalist, C. V. Riley, and founded the *American Entomologist.*[13]

Riley had been editor of the entomological department of *Prairie Farmer* since 1864 and then, partly through Walsh's influence, he was selected as Missouri's state entomologist in 1868. Riley and Walsh were prolific writers; a check of their publications indicates that each man contributed hundreds of articles, reports and notices to profes-

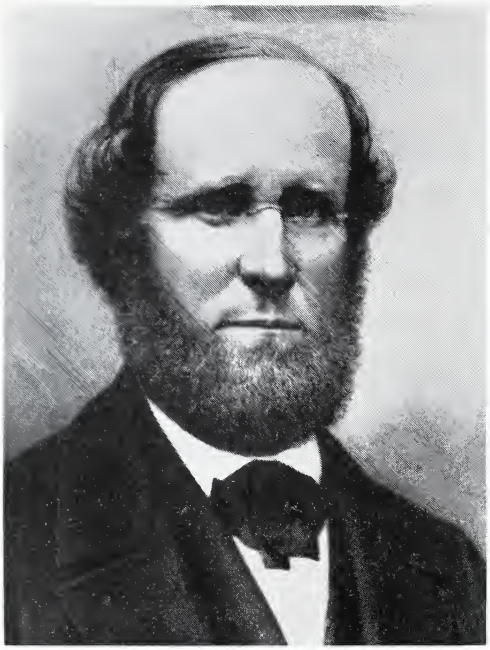
9. L. H. Pammel, "Benjamin Dann Walsh," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXI (Jan., 1929): 556-68.

10. William LeBaron, *First Annual Report on the Noxious Insects of the State of Illinois* (1871 ed.), 9; LeBaron, *Second Annual Report on the Noxious Insects of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1872), 98.

11. See, for example, Benjamin D. Walsh to Spencer F. Baird, Oct. 26, 1863, and Walsh to Baird, Sept. 17, 1859, Baird Papers, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

12. Only two volumes were published (Philadelphia, 1865-1867).

13. Three volumes were published in St. Louis and New York, 1868-1880; publication was suspended from 1871 to 1879.



Benjamin D. Walsh, who, in 1867, became Illinois' first state entomologist.

sional journals and newspapers.[14] Some of these were trivial, some were concerned with personal differences over the naming of a type of insect, but many of their articles were scientific and practical, containing ideas that the average farmer could use to advantage.

From the scientific point of view, the most striking essays published by Walsh were those related to evolution and natural selection in the insect world. Experimenting with ladybugs, he developed the thesis that when a variation useful to the male in his sexual operations takes place in the male reproductive organs, it becomes the basis for a new species by natural selection. The less favored males lose out in the struggle for the females, and eventually a new species develops, outwardly distinguished from the original form only

14. Samuel Henshaw, *Bibliography of the More Important Contributions to American Economic Entomology,* Pts. 1-3 (Washington, 1890), 9-95.

in modifications or exaggerations of the color pattern. This research strengthened his belief in evolution, and he became a strong supporter of the Darwin school of thought in the United States.[15]

The sexual activities of insects and the implications with respect to natural selection and evolution, while fascinating to the scientist, held little interest for the common man. The average farmer was more impressed by Walsh's and Riley's work with common plant lice, grasshoppers and potato bugs.[16] Walsh's contributions as state entomologist were primarily of the practical type. He studied many problems of interest to horticulturists and used his talents and experience in an attempt to control such pests as the grape curculio, the codling moth, the leaf crumpler, and the plum gouger. When time permitted, he continued the more scientific and technical research in the field and laboratory.[17]

Walsh's accidental death in 1869 at the height of his career was regarded as a great loss to the scientific profession and to the people. At that time, few men in his field possessed his insight and imagination. He loved all nature but he loved insects the best, and the enthusiasm that he brought to the study of entomology inspired his fellow-workers, and even the farmers found his fervor contagious.

15. Benjamin D. Walsh, "Notes," *Proceedings of the Entomological Society of Philadelphia,* II (1863): 213-17; Walsh, "On Phytophagic Varieties and Phytophagic Species," *ibid.,* III (1864): 403-30; Walsh's attitude toward the anti-Darwin school of thought, including Louis Agassiz, is expressed in his article "On Certain Entomological Speculations of the New England School of Naturalists," *ibid.,* III: 207-49.

16. Riley's articles on the potato bug were so popular that they were republished in pamphlet form with special editions in German for immigrants from the Rhineland. See C. V. Riley, *Einege Unserer Schaedlicherer Insekten* (St. Louis, 1872).

17. Benjamin D. Walsh's *First Annual Report of the Noxious Insects of the State of Illinois* (Chicago, 1868), *passim.* For an interesting twentieth-century estimate of Walsh's work see Justus Watson Folsom, *Entomology, with Special Reference to Its Ecological Aspects* (Philadelphia, 1922), 424.

William LeBaron, second state entomologist (1870-1875).

Indeed, not the least of his contributions was his demonstration of the usefulness of an official entomologist employed by the state to serve the people.

In 1870 Governor John M. Palmer, conscious of the importance of entomology in the agricultural life of the state, asked William LeBaron to continue the program that Walsh had inaugurated. LeBaron was a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of the Harvard College Medical School. Like many physicians in the nineteenth century, LeBaron's interests were not confined to medicine. He spent much of his time wandering over the fields and hills of Massachusetts studying insects, birds and flowers, and before he moved to Geneva, Illinois, in 1844, he had collected many valuable specimens. As a matter of fact, it was the expectation of finding new entomological and botanical specimens that lured him to the Midwest. Once he was established at

Geneva, he practiced medicine in order to support his family, but he spent at least half of his time adding to his entomological and ornithological collections.[18]

LeBaron was a conscientious scientist who endeavored to keep the program of the state entomologist on the high level that had been established by Walsh. However, he was less interested in scientific theory and doctrine than in practical experimentation, and he spent most of his time trying to find cheap but effective remedies useful to farmers in their warfare on insects. Typical of his experiments was the trial given Paris green as a remedy for canker-worm and other pests. The ultimate outcome was the discovery that the poison was effective against the codling moth, which in the larval stage did great damage to pears and apples.

Such a contribution was in keeping with LeBaron's interpretation of the function of the state entomologist, which he held to be teaching the people the fundamental facts of applied science and showing that the practical features of entomology could be an economic asset to farmers. In his opinion, purely scientific reports should be kept to a minimum, and even the more scholarly papers should be treated in such a way that the relationship between pure and applied science was plainly indicated. Such an interpretation of the function of the office did not preclude a research program, but it did suggest that the more technical work of laboratory and field be considered as a means to an end and not an end in itself. The ultimate objective was to get useful information in ordinary language before the farmer. The dissemination of useful information presented another problem since the state legislature was not inclined to under-

18. *Commemorative Biographical and Historical Record of Kane County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1888), 760-61.

write the publication of special pamphlets and bulletins. Under the circumstances, the newspapers, and especially the widely circulated *Prairie Farmer,* became the best and quickest means of communication between the state entomologist and the people.[19]

The scientific thinking and experimentation of Walsh and LeBaron, while often original and frequently practical, were somewhat fragmentary and lacking in a core pattern of purpose; this was not at all unusual in the pioneering scientists of the period and is stated as a fact, not as a derogatory estimate of their efforts. Walsh, while not trained professionally in the modern sense, was, nevertheless, cognizant of the importance and implications of the new scientific trends, including the theory of evolution. His most imaginative work was his study of the sex habits of ladybugs and "pleasing fungus" beetles in relation to natural selection. LeBaron's scientific range was more limited. Perhaps the most valuable asset of each man was the ability to cross the boundary line between the world of scientific thought and the world of the common man.

The same practicality was evident in the work of Cyrus Thomas, who was state entomologist of Illinois from 1875 to 1882.[20] Thomas is better remembered for his research in ethnology than for his contributions in entomology.[21] However, he published useful papers on the insect pests of Illinois, and in recognition of these publications he was ap-

19. LeBaron, *Second Annual Report on the Noxious Insects of Illinois,* 116; *Third Annual Report* (1873), v-vii; *Prairie Farmer,* June 4, 18, 1870; Oct. 18, 1873, and subsequent issues.

20. The *Dictionary of American Biography* gives the dates as 1874-1876, an error probably copied from *Who's Who in America,* VI (1910-1911): 1903.

21. See, for example, his "Burial Mounds in the Northern Sections of the United States," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* . . . (Washington, 1887), 3-119.

pointed to the United States Entomological Commission for the year 1876-1877. During this period he made extensive studies of the chinch bug, and his essay on the characteristics of this farm pest was published by the United States Entomological Commission in 1879. Although this report was to be superseded ten years later by the exhaustive chinch bug research of Stephen Forbes, Thomas' description of the habits of the insect was an important contribution.

According to Thomas, the state entomologist should provide practical ideas and methods to be used by farmers and horticulturists and at the same time promote the interests of pure science.[22] To disseminate knowledge, he lectured before various agricultural and horticultural societies, but he relied on the official reports of his office more than on any other medium to bring important information to the farmers. He believed that the first great need of the Illinois farmer was a reliable guide listing and describing all the most common insects. Walsh, LeBaron and Riley had published many informative articles on insect pests, but this information was scattered in periodical literature, and most of it was inaccessible to the average farmer. Thomas consequently went to work and made the annual reports of the state entomologist guides to the noxious and beneficial insects common to the Midwest. In this work he received the valuable assistance of Stephen A. Forbes and Thomas J. Burrill,[23] and also the co-operation of the editors of a number of farm journals. His report on plant lice, published in 1879, was one of the most useful in this series.[24]

22. *Eighth Report of the State Entomologist on the Noxious and Beneficial Insects of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1879), 1.

23. See n. 2.

24. For a later tabulation and evaluation of Thomas' collection of aphids, see John J. Davis, *The Cyrus Thomas Collection of Aphididae, and a Tabulation of the Species Mentioned and Described in His Publications* (Urbana, 1913).

Like his predecessors, Thomas discovered that the legislature tended to neglect the scientific aspects of farming, but he did not place all the blame on the politicians, for he realized that the inactivity of the legislature could be traced at least in part to the farmers who were often either ignorant of the advantages of scientific agriculture or so vague in presenting their needs that the legislators failed to be impressed.[25] He felt, too, that the majority of farmers failed to appreciate what the state entomologist was trying to do for them. Anyway, by 1882, Thomas was ready for a change. His interests had been shifting more and more to ethnology and anthropology, and when the call came from Washington he was glad to accept a position with the Bureau of American Ethnology.[26]

Although the work of Walsh, LeBaron and Thomas was important, what was probably a more significant contribution to pure and applied science was made by Stephen A. Forbes (1844-1930) who became state entomologist in 1882 and remained in the office until 1917.[27] At the time of his appointment, Forbes was well known in biological circles for his work as director of the Illinois State Laboratory of Natural History, a duty which he continued to perform for many years. In 1884 he accepted a professorship of zoology at the University of Illinois, and from 1888 to 1905 he was Dean of the College of Science at the same institution. His competency as a natural scientist and as an administrator

25. *Eighth Report of the State Entomologist,* 2.

26. In addition to the official reports, Thomas published a textbook entitled *Introduction to the Study of North American Archaeology* (Cincinnati, 1898).

27. L. O. Howard, "Biographical Memoir of Stephen Arnold Forbes," in National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs,* Vol. XV, No. 1 (Washington, 1932), 3, 14; Theodore C. Pease, "Stephen Alfred Forbes," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.,* XXIII (Oct., 1930): 543-48.

was demonstrated by the fact that he could hold these four major positions at the same time.

With respect to their early training, Walsh, LeBaron, Thomas and Forbes had something in common. Walsh had been educated for the ministry, which he gave up in favor of a business career. Having failed in business, he decided to make his hobby, entomology, his life's work. LeBaron's special training had been in medicine, but at best he was a part-time physician. He seemed to be more interested in birds and bugs than in the ills of mankind. Neither Walsh nor LeBaron had formal schooling in the field of entomology, and when they are considered in terms of the standards that developed during their lifetimes, they were not professionally trained, although no one doubted their competency. Thomas belonged to the same generation, in which formal higher education in one's chosen field was not essential. His education was limited to the fundamentals offered by a village school and the curriculum of the Jonesboro, Tennessee, Academy. Although he was interested in science from the beginning, he actually practiced law from 1851 to 1865, and it was only after this date that he began to attract attention as a naturalist. By contrast, Forbes had a college background, but in his case, too, his college education did not provide specific training for the career he made for himself. He studied medicine at Beloit College and Rush Medical College, only to discover that he was psychologically unsuited for the life of a physician.[28] He then turned to zoology and entomology, and with independent study, supplemented by special courses at Illinois Normal, he laid the foundation for his life's work. In 1884, after taking special examinations,

28. He never finished the medical course. Interview with Mrs. Franklin W. (Ethel Forbes) Scott, Urbana, Ill., Oct. 12, 1953.

he received his Ph.D. in zoology from Indiana University.[29]

Forbes was better trained than Walsh, LeBaron and Thomas, and his techniques and knowledge were superior to those of his predecessors. In relation to the higher standards that the "new science" was demanding, he was classified as a professional and a specialist, and yet he was not a slave to specialism. His perspective remained broad, and he was as deeply concerned with the socio-economic implications of biology as he was with the purely scientific aspects of the field.[30] He was learned but pragmatic; he was sensitive to the needs of the scientist, but he was conscious, too, of the needs of the people.

During his term of thirty-five years as state entomologist, Forbes worked constantly at the problem of breaking down the conservatism of the farmers in order to teach them that the services of a well-trained scientist, backed by the resources of a wealthy state, were not just a fad but a necessity. He pointed out that insects were waging constant warfare against mankind, and he insisted that the only way to keep them under control was through the co-operation of the scientist, the farmer, the government and the educational institutions. He warned the public not to be fooled by the small size of the grasshopper, chinch bug and potato beetle. Chewing and sucking bugs were enemies that never sued for peace, and on their own level they represented a fully developed system of zoology and should never be underestimated. But, said Forbes, man had the advantage if he used his intelligence.[31]

29. *D.A.B.*

30. W. E. Allee, *et al., The Principles of Animal Economy* (Philadelphia, 1949), 29, 36, 517.

31. Forbes developed the thesis that insects were the great enemies of man in a pamphlet entitled *The Insect, the Farmer, the Teacher, the Citizen, and the State* (Urbana, 1915). A copy was found in the Library of Congress.

Basically, Forbes was erudite, searching, cautious and meticulous. His research projects and his reports were regarded as models by his fellow-scientists. But while on one hand he was the entomologist's entomologist, on the other he was the farmer's partner, capable of devoting considerable time on a trivial problem if it would help to bridge the gap between layman and scholar. He stressed the point that education was essential to progress, and in order to achieve both he felt that there must be a bond of confidence between the practical world and the experimental laboratory.[32]

In an attempt to achieve this goal, he made a noble effort to practice what he preached. Fired with the zeal of a crusader he made personal contacts with farmers, gardeners and amateur scientists not only in Illinois but in neighboring states as well. He carried on a persistent campaign to inform the people about the services that could be obtained from the office of state entomologist and to train them to rely on this office and its staff for assistance. He used the local press and the farm journals, especially *Prairie Farmer,* to spread information, to give advice, to sound warnings and to quell hysteria.[33]

But the entomological service was not a one-way street. Frequently the entomologist relied on information sent in from selected farmers who made spot observations on the activities of certain pests in different parts of the state. Forbes was always glad to receive information of this type which was supplemented by reports from naturalists in Iowa,

32. Interview with Mrs. Franklin W. Scott, Oct. 12, 1953.

33. Stephen A. Forbes, "Studies on the Contagious Diseases of Insects," in *Bulletin of the Illinois State Laboratory of Natural History,* II (1884-1888): 266-70; *Prairie Farmer,* Aug. 4, Oct. 6, 1883; *Orange Judd Farmer,* Jan. 5, 1889, May 3, 1890.

Michigan and even New York. On the basis of the accumulated data, predictions could be made, and plans arranged to fight expected infestations. Alert farmers helped in other ways and indirectly contributed to research projects and to the development of insecticides, first by providing specimens from the fields and orchards and then by co-operating with the entomologist as he experimented with new methods of control.[34]

In connection with his campaign to convince farmers that science was the handmaid of agriculture, Forbes tried to impress upon them the necessity for co-operation among themselves. He believed that community action was essential if the insect population was to be kept at a minimum. But all the work of the entomologist and of the experiment station could not help the farmer unless he understood the problems of his own farm and could recognize disease and insect dangers in time to do something constructive about them. The answer to this problem, according to Forbes, was fundamental scientific education which should begin in the rural public schools.[35]

Some of the most substantial contributions made by the state entomologist were related to insects and fungus that injured corn and fruit trees. Beginning in 1896, Forbes published several reports that laid the foundation for future work on insects injurious to corn. These essays were models of their kind, written in clear, forceful language, with great attention to detail. The reports also included some very useful illustrations, showing the army worm, white grub,

34. *Transactions of the Mississippi Valley Horticultural Society,* I (1883): 49-82; *Twelfth Report of the State Entomologist* (Springfield, 1883), 64-82.

35. Forbes, *The Kind of Economic Entomology Which the Farmer Ought to Know* (Bloomington, Ill., 1904), 5, 13, 15-16.

corn worm, chinch bug and corn bill-bug in various stages of development and in typical natural positions on the corn plant. Indicative of the thoroughness of the study was the detailed description of twelve species of cutworms and eight species of corn bill-bugs. The reports were distributed as bulletins from the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Illinois and were intended for students, teachers and farmers.[36]

The insect wars were never over, and usually the enemy attacked on several fronts simultaneously. Occasionally a new and destructive insect appeared to add to the normal difficulties experienced by farmers. A good example was the San Jose scale,[37] which reached Illinois about 1895. The new invader was described as the most dangerous insect to attack fruit trees in the history of American horticulture. Forbes was fully aware of the danger, and with the help of an augmented staff he began to fight the scale with everything at his command. The battle called for special equipment, extraordinary legal authority, quarantine and even such a drastic method (as a last resort) as wholesale destruction of badly infested orchards. For such a campaign, special laws and special appropriations were needed. The legislature, as usual, was slow to meet the emergency, but in 1897 an act was passed that authorized the expenditure of $3,000 in the fight to bring the scale under control. It was not until 1899 that the state entomologist was given the authority to set up a state quarantine and to destroy diseased nursery stock. Welcome, although still inadequate, was the

36. Stephen A. Forbes, "Insect Injuries to the Seed and Root of Indian Corn," *Bull. Agric. Exp. Sta. of the Univ. of Ill.*, No. 44 (1896), 209-96; Forbes, "The More Important Insect Injuries to Indian Corn," *ibid.*, No. 95 (1904), 331-99.

37. So called because it entered the United States via San Jose, Calif.

$8,000 appropriation which the General Assembly approved that year for the purpose of eradicating the San Jose scale from Illinois.[38]

Meanwhile, even before the lawmakers came to his assistance with emergency legislation, Forbes was in the field with his staff, searching for infected trees, experimenting with insecticides and introducing fungus parasites of the San Jose scale. Their most effective weapon was a whale oil soap solution used as a spray. A special mechanical sprayer, with a one-horse-power gasoline motor and a triplex pump, was manufactured in the machine shops at the University of Illinois expressly for the use of the entomological staff. The sprayer was equipped with a double tank, which held one hundred seventy gallons, and a battery of gasoline burners under each tank for boiling the insecticide in the field. The pump developed one hundred fifty pounds of pressure per square inch, and the spray could be discharged either through a one-inch pipe or a series of quarter-inch cocks arranged on a cross pipe connected to the one-inch pipe. The apparatus was mounted on a two-horse baggage wagon which was made fireproof with a coating of asbestos and concrete on the floor under the burners. The entire machine — pump, engine and tanks — could be tied down to the wagon box, covered with a large tarpaulin and shipped from one insect battle front to another.[39]

The experience of the state entomologist and the Agricultural Experiment Station with the San Jose scale served to emphasize the fact that many Illinois farmers were neglecting to spray their orchards against the more common

38. Stephen A. Forbes, "Recent Work on the San Jose Scale in Illinois," *ibid.*, No. 56 (1899), 241-87; *Laws of the State of Illinois, 1899,* 49-52.

39. Forbes, "Recent Work on the San Jose Scale in Illinois," 254-56.

Cyrus Thomas, state entomologist, 1875-1882.

Stephen A. Forbes, state entomologist, 1882-1917. (All photos courtesy Illinois State Natural History Survey.)

insects. The surveys made in search of the scale disclosed many orchards all but abandoned to the codling moth, canker worm, and tent caterpillar. In 1898 the apple crop was a complete failure on most farms, and at least 60 per cent of the loss was due to negligence. Consequently, in 1898, the experiment station, with the blessing of the state ento-

mologist, started a campaign of its own to educate the farmers on the practical and economic necessity of scientific spraying.[40] Thus the struggle between man and nature, between science and ignorance, continued, and, while there was much cause for discouragement, still enough progress was made each year to justify the effort.

Forbes's versatility was one of his outstanding characteristics as a scientist, and he was always looking for new problems to investigate, especially if the solution held a promise of economic benefit to man. One of his most original research projects was the investigation of the food of birds in order to determine how useful they were to farmers and horticulturists. Traditionally, farmers condemned all birds as undesirable, but neither the farmer nor the naturalist really knew how much harm or good wild birds did.

Investigations relating to the value of birds to farmers and fruit growers began to attract attention about 1850, and several articles on the subject appeared in the agricultural press in Massachusetts, Ohio and Illinois. The first scientific investigations of the food of birds was conducted independently, and on a very limited scale, by two New England ornithologists in 1858. In that year J. W. P. Jenks caught robins throughout the summer season and examined the contents of their stomachs. In the same year David Treadwell caught two robins in June and kept them under observation. One bird died within a few days, but the other one, watched and fed for thirty-two days, became one of the best-known birds in the Western Hemisphere.[41] In 1873 the Frenchman

40. See, for example, Joseph Cullen Blair, "Spraying Apple Trees, with Special Reference to Apple Scab Fungus," in *Bull. Agric. Exp. Sta. of the Univ. of Ill.,* No. 54 (1899), 181-204.

41. *Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History,* VI (Boston, 1859): 396-99; T. S. Palmer, "A Review of Economic Ornithology in the United States," in *Yearbook of the U. S. Dept. of Agric., 1899,* 259-92.

Edouard Perris called attention to the harm that birds might do by eating beneficial insects. In 1878 the United States Entomological Commission published Samuel Aughey's "Notes on the Nature of the Food of Birds of Nebraska,"[42] which, while sketchy and inconclusive, suggested the possibilities of research of this nature. In Illinois, Benjamin D. Walsh was interested in the food of birds, but his conclusions were superficial and later disproved by Forbes and the New Hampshire naturalist Clarence M. Weed.[43] In Wisconsin the food of birds attracted the interest of F. H. King, who carried out some extensive investigations in the 1880's while he was attached to the Wisconsin Geological Survey, but his conclusions were unsatisfactory.[44] About 1875 the study of the food of birds made a notable advance when Forbes began his detailed and systematic investigations of thrushes, wrens and bluebirds.[45]

According to Forbes, three methods were available to the ornithologist conducting a study of the food of birds. The first method was the simple one of bird watching. The second procedure consisted of capturing birds and feeding them in confinement, the method that had been used by Jenks and Treadwell. A third way was the microscopic examination of the contents of their stomachs after the birds had been killed. Of the three, he regarded the second as the least valuable because the bird would eat what he had to in order to stay alive. The third method was more scien-

42. Samuel Aughey, "Notes on the Nature of the Food of Birds of Nebraska," in *First Annual Report, U. S. Entomological Commission, 1877,* App. 2, pp. 13-62.

43. Weed was interested primarily in the chickadee and the chipping sparrow. See, for example, his "The Winter Food of the Chickadee," *Bulletin of the New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station,* No. 54 (1898), pp. 85-98; No. 55, pp. 101-10.

44. *Geology of Wisconsin,* I: 441-610.

45. Palmer, "A Review of Economic Ornithology in the United States," 262.

tific because it furnished a record of the food eaten in the natural habitat during a period of several hours. Forbes called the contents of a bird's stomach, as revealed under the microscope, an "old bill of fare" which, while sometimes difficult to read, furnished a reasonably accurate inventory.

Forbes's first publication on this subject (1876) was based on the examination of 350 bird stomachs.[46] His second report (1878) came after he had studied the contents of 1,500 stomachs, although he selected only 277 specimens, representing 80 species, as the basis for this paper. Under the auspices of the Illinois State Laboratory of Natural History, additional reports were given in 1879-1880, and these contained so much new data that they superseded the earlier publications. Then for a number of years other duties interfered with the bird studies, and it was not until 1895 that he was able to return to this project.

The later studies were more thorough than the earlier investigations, but even with the additional knowledge that came as a result of his research, Forbes was very cautious about stating definite conclusions. However, he was willing to admit, pending further study of migratory and seasonable habits, that many birds rendered some service to man.[47] In spite of his caution, Forbes's work on the food of birds, and similar studies that he made of the food of fishes,[48] brought him national recognition as one of the founders of ecology.[49]

But there were laymen and scientists alike who looked askance at the theories of the ecologists. Forbes found it

46. *Transactions of the Illinois State Horticultural Society for 1876*, X (n.s.): 37-44; *ibid.*, XII: 140-45.

47. *Bull. Ill. State Lab. of Nat. Hist.*, VII (1907): 305-35; see also *Bulletin of the Nuttall Ornithological Club*, VIII (Cambridge, Mass., 1883): 105-7.

48. Forbes, "Studies of the Food of Fresh-Water Fishes," in *Bull. Ill. State Lab. of Nat. Hist.*, II (1884-1888): 433-73.

49. W. E. Allee, *et al.*, *Principles of Animal Economy*, 29, 36, 517.

difficult to convince people of the importance of the interrelationships in nature, and many scientists were either uninterested in his bionomics or skeptical about biology's becoming involved in economic and social problems. Their opinions, apparently, made little impression on Forbes except perhaps to encourage him to greater efforts at convincing his critics that his methods were not only scientific but humanitarian as well. He saw everything as an integrated pattern, and his broad perspective carried him beyond the traditional bounds of pure science into the social sciences. On his broad stage he marshaled facts of heredity and environment, of history and economics, and subjected all to a close analysis as parts of the whole scheme of life.

It was his excellent work as state entomologist more than anything else that enabled Forbes to convince at least a minority of farmers that the more practical features of science could be applied to agricultural economics.[50] Properly utilized, science would improve farming techniques, increase crops, enlarge farm incomes, raise the standard of living of the farm family and give the farmer a greater social stature in the community.[51] This was an ambitious program, pragmatic and fundamentally sound. Still, there remained the complex habits and ideas of traditional farming, all deeply rooted. There remained also a strong will to be identified with the old agricultural mores. Forbes believed that these obstacles could be overcome with patience and education. Even in his own lifetime, the course of events proved that he was right.

50. Forbes often stated that the aesthetic features of natural science had been overemphasized to the detriment of more practical aspects. See Forbes, "Natural History in the Public Schools," *Illinois Schoolmaster,* VI (1876): 363-73.

51. Forbes, *Economic Entomology the Farmer Ought to Know,* 3.

GERHARD P. CLAUSIUS

The Little Soldier of the 95th: Albert D. J. Cashier

An amateur historian, the author, Gerhard P. Clausius, is a practicing optometrist in Belvidere, Illinois. He is a member of the Boone County and Illinois State Historical Societies and the Chicago and Rockford Civil War Round Tables. He is at present working on a biography of Stephen A. Hurlbut, Lincoln's friend and Civil War general.

"THEY SURELY must want soldiers badly, if they take that little fellow at the end of the line," said a citizen of Belvidere, Illinois, on August 6, 1862. He was referring to a small, dark-haired youth who, with seventeen other recruits, was being marched to the railroad station where he would entrain for Rockford, to join the Ninety-fifth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, being formed in that city. The companion of the man who had made the remark replied that after the losses at Shiloh the Union needed every man who was willing. Many Belvidere boys had been in the Shiloh battle, for the town's first recruits had been assigned to the Fifteenth Illinois Volunteers, which had suffered many losses in the battle. The people of Belvidere were thus conscious of the need for men if the Union cause was to emerge victorious.

The "little fellow" en route to Rockford that August day was listed on the muster roll as Albert D. J. Cashier; he was one of the smallest soldiers to be accepted in the army: just five feet tall!

Cashier, with his comrades, joined the other boys from Boone and McHenry counties at Camp Fuller, and there he began the life of a volunteer infantryman. The Ninety-fifth Volunteers drilled and learned the art of soldiering, and in November, 1862, were given orders to leave for Cairo, Illinois. There the regiment, with Albert Cashier, embarked on a river steamer for Columbus, Kentucky, a former Confederate stronghold. From Columbus the regiment was shipped via railroad to Jackson, Tennessee, where they reported to another Boone County soldier, General Stephen A. Hurlbut, who had distinguished himself at the Battle of Shiloh. After a short stay at Jackson, the Ninety-fifth was ordered to Grand Junction, where it became part of the Army of the Tennessee, under command of General Grant.

The Ninety-fifth proved to be a fighting regiment; it took part in most of the important battles of the western field of operations and at Vicksburg was one of the first regiments to enter the fallen city.

Albert Cashier, too, proved to be a good soldier: in spite of his lack of height and brawn, he was able to withstand the long marches, the rigors of camp life, and the problems of an infantryman, as well as his comrades who were bigger and brawnier. If a husky comrade assisted Albert in handling a heavy assignment (one which required lifting or pushing), Albert would volunteer to help with his chores of washing clothes or replacing buttons; Albert seemed especially adept at those tasks so despised by the infantryman. However, in handling a musket in battle, he was the equal of any in the company.

Cashier was not a soldier to fraternize with his comrades in the company. A visitor to Company G of the Ninety-fifth Illinois Volunteers, would probably have seen Cashier

sitting apart from the little group of soldiers, silently smoking a pipe and appearing to have thoughts of distant places on his mind.

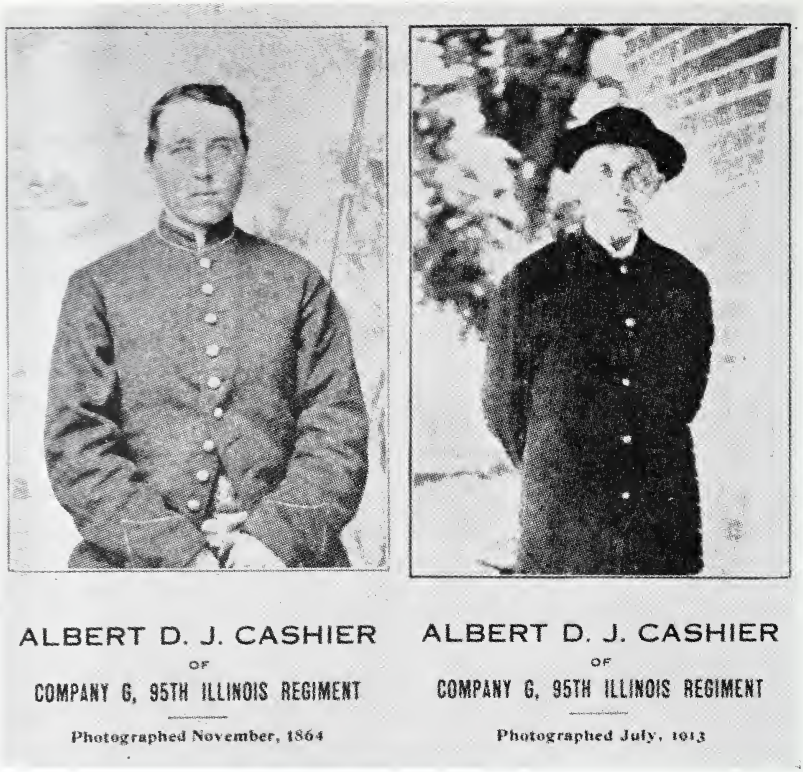
After taking part in the Red River Campaign under General Nathaniel P. Banks, the Ninety-fifth was assigned to the command of General Samuel D. Sturgis, which had been ordered by General Sherman to proceed from Memphis into northern Mississippi in pursuit of the Confederate cavalry leader Nathan Bedford Forrest. (This assignment proved to be a very difficult one, particularly with a commander as inept as General Sturgis.) The Ninety-fifth was made part of a brigade which also consisted of the 81st, the 108th, the 113th, and the 120th Illinois Infantry, and one artillery company. By June 7, 1864, they were at Ripley, Mississippi. The weather was exceedingly hot and humid, and the march to Ripley had been rapid; the brigade was almost in a state of exhaustion.

Sturgis had been advised that Forrest's forces were in the vicinity of Tupelo, Mississippi, preparing an expedition to cross the Tennessee River so that they could cause trouble to the supply lines of General Sherman, who was then at the gates of Atlanta. Hearing that Sturgis' forces were coming down state, Forrest moved rapidly to meet them. Conforming to his reputation, he surprised a small part of the advance Union cavalry, brought his troops up rapidly, and at a small crossroads known as Brice's he opened the engagement on June 10. Forrest's ability to bring up the most men "firstest" stood him in good stead. The exhausted Union infantry was slow in coming up to support the advance cavalry; Forrest gained the initiative and would not relinquish it. In the hot June weather, Union infantrymen fell from heat prostration even before arriving at the scene.

The Ninety-fifth came up rapidly, but not "double quick," for their colonel, Thomas W. Humphrey, felt that a forced march in the heat would so exhaust his men that they would be unable to fight when they arrived at the scene of the battle. They fought stubbornly when they did reach the scene, however. Early in the afternoon their beloved Colonel Humphrey was killed, and the command fell to Captain William Stewart, next in rank. He served but a short time when he was severely wounded and had to be removed from the field. The command now devolved on Cashier's commander, Captain E. N. Bush, of Company G, who also was killed after a short interval. Up from the officers' ranks came Captain Almon Schellenger to assume command. Meanwhile, the battle continued. The regimental historian states that during this severe fighting neither the commanding general nor any of the staff appeared to direct the disposition of the troops or the ordering up of ammunition to refill the now-empty cartridge boxes. The Union forces became disorganized and, pressed hard by the confident Confederates, began a retreat toward Memphis. The time was about 5 P.M. After sustaining severe losses in men and material, the thoroughly beaten army — what was left of it — arrived back in Memphis.

After the debacle of Brice's Crossroads, the Ninety-fifth was given a chance to reorganize and recruit.

By now Cashier was a veteran infantryman, and the Ninety-fifth Illinois Volunteers a tough, experienced infantry outfit. They were to see more severe action as they participated in such terrific engagements as the pursuit of Price in Missouri, the battles of Spring Hill and Franklin, the defense of Nashville under Thomas and the pursuit and defeat of Hood. By February, 1865, the Ninety-fifth was



Two pictures taken nearly fifty years apart — the earlier one was made during the war, and at the time of the latter, Private Cashier was at the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Quincy.

down around New Orleans, where it participated in the investments of Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely before Mobile. Meanwhile, the successes of Grant in the East brought the war to a close.

On August 15, 1865, the Ninety-fifth returned to northern Illinois, and Albert Cashier — with his comrades of Company G — received a welcome for heroes at Belvidere. They had served for three years and, according to the regimental historian, had traveled 9,960 miles.

Albert Cashier lingered around Belvidere for a short time; then the urge to travel (which apparently had brought him

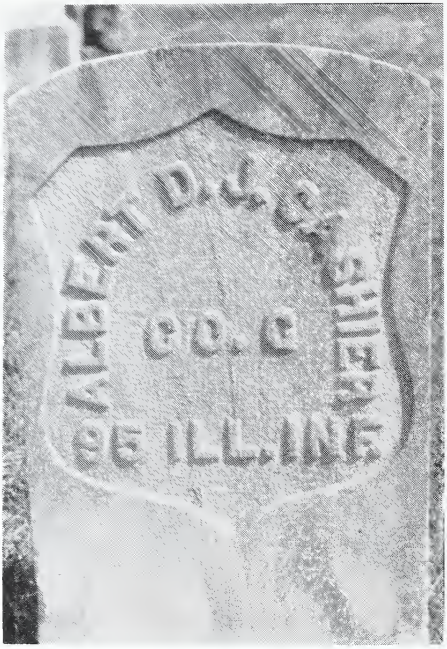
to Belvidere originally) caused him to pack up his few belongings and move on again. He went south in Illinois, to the village of Saunemin, in Livingston County, near Pontiac. At Saunemin he made his living as a truck gardener and handy man around town. Proud of the record of his Company G, he would become incensed when the village boys teased him by calling him a "drummer boy." "I was a fighting infantryman," he would shriek at them.

In 1911, while in the pursuit of his occupation as handy man, he was working one day in the garage of State Senator Ira M. Lish, an early automobile enthusiast. In some tragic way Albert Cashier was struck by the automobile and sustained a fractured leg. A physician was summoned — probably over the protests of Albert Cashier — who, in attempting to reduce the fracture, discovered that this hero of many savage battles was a female person! Imagine the surprise and mortification!

Senator Lish and the physician agreed with Cashier that it would be better for her to remain in the role of Cashier for the time being.

Three months later Lish and the doctor decided that Albert should be taken to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Quincy, Illinois. Albert Cashier's sex was divulged to the superintendent and physician of the home, and they agreed to keep it secret. As Cashier was now crippled and bedridden by injury and infirmities of age, it was easy to do so. She was sixty-six years old when she entered the home.

In her application for admittance, she gave her real name as Jennie Hodgers, and stated that she had been born in Ireland on December 25, 1844, and had come to this country as a stowaway. This application was signed by her mark; she had never learned to write.



Tombstone of Private Cashier in the cemetery at Saunemin, Illinois.

One of the highlights of her stay at the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home was a visit she received from the captain of her old Company G. He recognized her in her uniform, and they recalled their days of soldiering. Whether this meeting was prearranged in order to dispel all doubts as to her identity is not known, but it is a possibility.

Cashier remained in the home about three years, when her mental condition necessitated her transfer to the insane asylum at Watertown, now the East Moline State Hospital. The paper committing her to that institution listed her symptoms as "no memory, noisy at times, poor sleeper, and feeble." This was in March, 1914.

At the asylum she had to wear dresses, which caused a "little Civil War" in itself. But protests availed Cashier nothing. After some rebellion, Jennie finally assumed the garb of her real sex, ending a masquerade which lasted from

before 1862 until 1914. On October 10, 1915, she passed away in the asylum.

Her comrades in the G.A.R. wanted to give her a military funeral, and they requested that she be allowed to be buried in her soldier's uniform. She was buried with full military honors in the little cemetery at Saunemin, and the flag she loved was draped around her casket. Peacefully she sleeps with the secrets of her unusual life.

At the time of her admittance to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, Cashier was receiving a soldier's pension of $70 a month. Having practically no expenses at the home, she gradually accumulated an estate of $500. When she was adjudged insane in 1913, the Illinois State Bank of Quincy was appointed conservator of this estate. If it had been an estate of $5,000 instead of $500, no better care could have been taken of it. The officer in charge, a Mr. Singleton, kept meticulous account of all details, and when Cashier died, the bank became the administrator of the estate. After all expenses were paid, such as pastors' fees (two officiated at her funeral) and the cost of grave digging and bringing her body to Saunemin, $281.86 remained.

Several purported heirs came forward to claim this small estate, but apparently none of their claims could be validated, for in 1924 (nine years after the death of Cashier) the residue was turned over to the county treasurer. It remains on the county books even to this day.

So ends the story of Albert D. J. Cashier, or Jennie Hodgers, whichever you will. Why did she forsake her sex? Why did she come to Belvidere? Many other questions remain unanswered, and forever will be. Yes, it is stranger than fiction!

DONALD F. TINGLEY

Illinois Days of Daniel Parker, Texas Colonizer

Associate professor of history at Eastern Illinois University and a vice-president of the State Historical Society, Donald F. Tingley became interested in Daniel Parker while writing his master's thesis on frontier religion. He took his Ph.D. degree at the University of Illinois in 1952 and was on the staff of the State Historical Library for a year before going to Eastern. He has previously written articles for Michigan History, Mid-America *and other journals.*

THE LATER YEARS of Daniel Parker, Texas pioneer, member of the Consultation of 1835, and one of the founders of the Texas Republic, have been noted by historians, and the details of his life after he arrived in Texas in 1833 are rather well known. Only casually, however, has his earlier career been recorded, and Parker had already carved for himself a place in history as a theologian, writer and politician when he arrived in East Texas at the age of fifty-two.

Daniel Parker was born in 1781 in Culpeper County, Virginia, at the headwaters of the Rappahannock River, just east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. His parents were John and Sarah White Parker.[1] John Parker, also a preacher, was born in Baltimore County, Maryland, in 1758 and served

1. Daniel Parker, "A Short History of the Life and Progress of the Editor," *The Church Advocate,* II (Aug., 1831): 259. This is an autobiographical sketch which made up the last two issues of the *Advocate,* a religious magazine which Parker edited at Palestine, Ill.

for two years in the Revolutionary War. About the year 1786 he moved with his family to Georgia.[2] Little is known of him between that time and 1836, when he was killed in an Indian raid in Texas.[3] Of Sarah, even less is known. Daniel wrote that she was "a God-fearing woman," who told her children of the perils of sin. Beyond this, little is recorded, and even the time of her death is doubtful, though in 1831 Daniel wrote that "she is gone home."[4] While this would imply that she was then dead, the county clerk of Coles County, Illinois, certified on a legal document that he personally had seen and talked with her in 1834, probably at the time of the emigration to Texas.[5] There is also a legend indicating that she was present at the massacre at Parker's Fort in which her husband was killed.[6]

Daniel Parker grew to manhood in the backwoods of Georgia, "an uninhabited wilderness" where he "ranged the woods as a hunter, nearly as much in company with Indians as with the whites."[7] He grew up without formal education, was converted to the Baptist faith in 1802 and began to preach soon thereafter. About this time he was married to Patsy Dickinson.[8] Little is known of Patsy except that she always signed legal papers with a mark. She doubtless

2. Affidavit of John Parker in application for a pension for Revolutionary War service, Coles Co. Commissioners' Court Records, 1832-1839, p. 17; *The History of Coles County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 290-91.

3. James T. DeShields, *Cynthia Ann Parker: The Story of Her Capture . . .* (St. Louis, 1886), 12-16.

4. Parker, "A Short History," 259.

5. Coles Co., Ill., Deed Book A, pp. 286-87.

6. DeShields, *Cynthia Ann Parker,* 14-16.

7. Parker, "A Short History," 263.

8. MS obituary of Daniel Parker, dated July 7, 1845. It is signed by J. W. Parker and apparently is the biographical sketch which was ordered prepared by his church on April 19, 1845, shortly after the death of Parker. See "The Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church, 1833-1847," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* XI (Oct., 1907): 149-50. A photostat of this fragmentary document was given to the author by Mr. Lee Parker Boone, of Midland, Tex.

was one of millions of self-effacing, uncomplaining pioneer women who helped to make the nation. Feeling that "the Lord had a work for me to do," Parker emigrated with his family to Tennessee, where he lived from 1803 until 1817.[9]

During the first three years of his stay there, Parker lived in Dixon County and helped to gather together a church on Turnbull's Creek. On being ordained a minister in the Baptist church in 1806, he moved to Sumner County, where he founded a church called Hopewell, on Bledsoe's Creek. The Parker material fortunes hit a low ebb at this point. He managed to acquire a horse and a cow but had virtually no money coming in and seemed to have no prospect of "ever owning a home for my family," which now consisted of two small children and Patsy, who was "near lying-in with the third." Parker stayed in Sumner County for eleven years. During this time he engaged in several public debates with Methodist clergymen, and began to develop some of the theological ideas which were to appear in print some years later.[10]

As he became more prominent in religious circles, Parker began to travel more widely in order to preach, with the result that his family fell into desperate straits. He finally acquired a piece of land, but life still was hard. The land was poor, and Parker says he often worked his farm at night so as to have time for his preaching engagements by day. In what was perhaps the spirit of Jeffersonianism, he wrote that farming was his only means of support since he would engage in no business activity lest he "bring a reproach on the tender cause of God." Reading Parker's description of the life of the family, one does not find it difficult to understand that his wife might chide him for his improvidence:

9. Parker, "A Short History" 268-70. 10. *Ibid.*, 268-74.

Sometimes it really appeared as if my family must suffer. I had but one horse to do all my work and riding, and I well recollect using him for two years in that gravelly country, without a shoe on his foot, because I was not able to get him shod without going into debt. I was afraid to do that, and was too proud to beg, often going on foot fifteen or twenty miles to my appointments, my wife having to shift for her little children as she could, attend to her business in the house, and mine out of doors, in my absence, being deprived of the common necessaries of life, (perhaps not one pound of coffee in a year,) except that of substantial food, and that at times appearing so coarse, that she at length (for the only time in her life,) observed to me, that she thought I would have to take in my appointments, or we should certainly come to want.[11]

Parker felt that his work in Tennessee had been accomplished after his debates with the Methodists, and he began to cast about for another place to carry on his theological crusade. He visited "the Wabash country" of Illinois several times, and finding that the "errors of christian society (so called) were taking deep root," he decided to move there.[12] On October 3, 1816, he entered one hundred sixty acres of government land near the Wabash River, northeast of Palestine, Illinois. In December of the following year he moved there with his family. Apparently his father and brothers also came with him, for their names appear in Illinois records about the same time.[13]

Parker seems to have acquired a modest amount of property during his stay in Illinois; he owned lots in the town of Palestine and a considerable amount of land in Crawford, Clark and Coles counties, some of which became comparatively valuable. When his brother Isaac moved to Coles County, Daniel also acquired the mill Isaac had built on Mill Creek in Clark County. In 1825 Daniel sold the mill

11. *Ibid.*, 275.
12. *Ibid.*, 277-78.
13. Crawford Co., Ill., Original Land Entry Book.

for $1,000, a considerable amount of money in that time. He also bought and sold land regularly during his years in Illinois.[14] His family grew with his prosperity; the census reports of 1818 and 1820 list him as having eight children.[15] Parker apparently commanded the respect of his neighbors and took an active part in the civic life of the community. There are records of his having served as juryman, road supervisor, overseer of the poor and custodian of the section of land set aside for maintenance of a school in his district.[16]

Parker did not confine his activities to Crawford County but also played an important part in the political life of the state in its early days. On August 5, 1822, he was elected state senator, winning 134 of the 364 votes cast for the four candidates for the post.[17] At that time it was not unusual for a preacher to serve in the state legislature; six of the fifty-three members of the Third General Assembly, for example, were of this calling.[18] Parker served on several legislative committees, including the committee on internal improvements, in which he was especially interested. He presented various resolutions and petitions for the building of roads in the eastern part of the state as well as for the building of a canal to link the Illinois River with Lake Michigan.[19]

Parker's greatest contribution as a legislator, however,

14. Crawford Co., Ill., Deed Book A, pp. 175-76, 191, 210, 230-31, 263, 243, 280, 281; *ibid.*, Book B, pp. 276, 280. Clark Co., Ill., Deed Book A, pp. 33, 64, 101, 189; Coles Co., Ill., Deed Book A, pp. 24, 205-6.

15. Margaret C. Norton, *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818* (*Illinois Historical Collections,* XXIV, Springfield, 1935), 63, and *Illinois Census Returns, 1820* (*Illinois Historical Collections,* XXVI, Springfield, 1934), 28.

16. Crawford Co. Commissioners' Court Records, 1817-1824, I: 56, 66, 67, 184, 188.

17. Theodore Calvin Pease, *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848* (*Illinois Historical Collections,* XVIII, Springfield, 1923), 196.

18. *Illinois Intelligencer* (Vandalia), Jan. 11, 1823.

19. *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1822, Jan. 4, Feb. 8, 1823, Jan. 5, 1825, Jan. 19, 1826, July 17, 1830.

came as a result of the slavery question. Since the Ordinance of 1787 had decreed that all of the territory northwest of the Ohio River should be free, the Constitution of Illinois, written at the time of admission to the Union and under which the government operated from 1818 until 1848, also prohibited slavery.[20] But in the legislative session which began in 1823 a serious move was made to legalize it. After a bitter fight the legislature decided to ask the people to vote on calling a convention for amending the constitution. Parker was among the minority who fought this proposition in the legislature.[21]

After the legislature had provided for the election, Parker worked to defeat the proposition at the polls. The reasons for his stand were set forth in a letter, also signed by fourteen other legislators, which was published in a newspaper of March 8, 1823. One of the arguments stated there was that slavery was illegal because of the prohibition of the Ordinance of 1787. Another was the inhumanity of the institution of slavery which was called a usurpation of the rights of one portion of the human race for the benefit of another, "an usurpation, whose prohibition is written by the finger of God upon all his works." The letter went on to say that slavery was unjust because it "is appropriating the fruits of *their* labor to feed *our* mouths. *Unjust,* because it is sinking *them* in mental degradation, to support *us* in indolence and ease." The fifteen legislators also argued that slavery was "inexpedient" in that it would cause a decline of immigration into the state. These anti-convention men concluded: "In the name of the unborn millions who will rise up after us, and call us blessed or accursed, according

20. Art. VI, Sec. 1.

21. *Ill. Intelligencer,* Feb. 15, 1823. See also Clarence Walworth Alvord, *Governor Edward Coles* (*Illinois Historical Collections,* XV, Springfield, 1920), 53, 86, 99.

to our deed — in the name of the injured sons of Africa, whose claims to equal rights with their fellow men will plead their own cause against their usurpers before the tribunal of Eternal Justice, we conjure you, fellow citizens, to ponder upon these things."[22] The people of Illinois defeated the proposal by a vote of about three to two.

Parker's one term in the legislature ended his political career in Illinois. He was defeated for re-election in 1826 by a sizeable majority. During the intervening four years the population had increased so greatly that instead of standing for re-election in only two counties, Parker found himself running for re-election in five. In 1832 he was a candidate for a seat in the lower house of the legislature but was again defeated.[23]

Business and politics, however, were only minor affairs to Parker; his religious work was the only phase of his career he considered significant. In his autobiographical sketch he does not even mention his political activity. Since much of the information available about this phase of his career comes from his enemies, a certain amount of bias can be expected. One of the historians of Crawford County says of him: "He was plain and unpolished — the diamond in its rough state — honest to a fault, kindly, and of the justest impulses, a noble type of a race fast passing away."[24] On the other hand, one of his greatest rivals, John Mason Peck, another Baptist preacher, described him as being "without education, uncouth in manner, slovenly in dress, diminutive in person, unprepossessing in appearance, with shriveled features and a small piercing eye." Peck admitted, how-

22. *Ill. Intelligencer,* March 8, 1823.

23. Pease, *Illinois Election Returns,* 219, 261.

24. William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Crawford and Clark Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883), 90.

ever, that few men had a greater influence on the common people of the frontier.[25]

Parker never stepped aside to avoid a fight if he believed the point was worth fighting for. The first religious conflict in which he became involved in Illinois was the anti-mission controversy. The point at issue was whether or not foreign missions, Sunday schools, theological seminaries and an educated clergy were compatible with the Baptist faith. Parker believed that they were not. In 1814 a group of eastern Baptists, led by Adoniram Judson, Luther Rice and other young seminary graduates had formed the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the purpose of propagating the Baptist faith abroad and in the United States.[26] Parker spent many years of his life and many hours of impassioned argument in fighting this movement. He began this crusade during his early years in Tennessee and is said to have threatened to "burst" his association if support for the missions was not discontinued.[27] He was in Tennessee when Rice visited there to secure backing for the Missionary Society, and though Parker reacted favorably to Rice's plan at first, he soon changed his mind, explaining:

> At the first view I was wonderfully pleased with the prospect of the gospel being extended with such rapidity, but having learnt in the time of my Methodist war, that nothing but Bible truth would stand the test, my mind was directly turned to my Bible, to see if the plan proposed by the mission principle was the Lord's way of sending the gospel and christianizing the world; so as I came to a knowledge of the mission plan, I compared it with the Lord's way of doing business, and I was sorry to find that they did not fit or

25. Quoted in Justin A. Smith, *A History of the Baptists in the Western States East of the Mississippi* (Philadelphia, 1896), 122-23.

26. B. H. Carroll, *The Genesis of American Anti-Missionism* (Louisville, 1902), 37-85.

27. Frank M. Masters, *A History of Kentucky Baptists* (Louisville, 1953), 194.

work together. I tried hard to reconcile the scriptures to the mission plan, but there was something in me, and in the Bible, that said there was too much difference between the word of God and the mission principle, for them to be reconciled together. While I became internally convinced that there was evil in the mission principle, my mind was much weighted with the subject.[28]

Having thus become convinced by the traditional fundamentalist method, Parker fought the missions with all his great vigor. He commented:

> Until this time I had lived in perfect peace with the Baptists, all in love, fellowship and union; but from that time until now, the greatest enemy I ever had in human shape is the mission spirit or principle, by men who call themselves Baptists, because I remain where they left me, and will not sacrifice the faith of God's elect.[29]

Parker says little in his autobiography about the fight against the mission plan but indicates that Crawford County was the "place where the Lord designed me to fight the hard battle on the mission subject." He mentions that Elder Isaac McCoy, of Indiana, had come into the employ of the Board of Foreign Missions and had begun to bring the churches of the Wabash area into co-operation with the board. Parker goes on to recount that he published a number of pamphlets on the subject of missions and led the fight which resulted in expelling the churches which supported the missions from the Wabash Association. The first of Parker's publications was a pamphlet entitled *A Public Address to the Baptist Society, and Friends of Religion in General, on the Principle and Practice of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, for the United States of America,* which appeared in 1820. He mentions that he published other pamphlets on the subject,[30] and one author says the first

28. Parker, "A Short History," 276.
29. *Ibid.*, 277.
30. *Ibid.*, 278-79.

pamphlet was republished in 1824 and that another was published the same year.[31]

Parker objected to the mission plan on several points. Implicit in the idea was a proposal to provide seminaries to train preachers. Parker, like most frontier ministers, was without formal education, and it was natural that he would look with scorn on the seminary products. Parker's basic doctrine was that a preacher cannot be taught to perform his work but must receive a direct call from God. This may be regarded as an ultra-doctrine of predestination, for Parker believed that the true preacher is a kind of super-elect. One of the best expositions of his antipathy to the mission plan is in a letter addressed to the editor of an eastern magazine and published in an Illinois newspaper. He writes with scorn of men who are "trained up, or taught . . . to preach":

> Sir, when you talk about men teaching and sending out well taught preachers, in the way you do, and boasting of theological institutions, and seminaries of learning, &c. you show a plain mark of the beast, and manifest the wickedness of your heart — and that you are under the influence of a spirit, that would dethrone God; sap the foundation of the christian religion; raise anti-Christ to his full power; exalt those Popes that are training up men to preach; establish priestcraft; and lead the public to believe that no man is qualified to preach but classical men. . . .

Parker, like most fundamentalists, believed that preachers were appointed by God and given the power to preach the word. As he put it, "the ability of the ministry is of God, and not of man."[32] Speaking of his own lack of education, Parker wrote in his autobiography, "I do not name these things to boast of my ignorance, but for truth's sake, and

31. William Warren Sweet, *The Baptists, 1783-1830* (New York, 1931), 69.

32. Parker to Nathan Pollard, *Ill. Intelligencer,* Dec. 7, 1822.

that God may have the glory of what little he has done by and through me, and not the wisdom of this world."[33]

Parker always sought to prove his points by quoting the Bible. He noted that when Christ was about to send out preachers, he called them to their work regardless of whether they had been educated. He wrote that "old Paul tells us when it pleased God to call him, he conferred not with flesh and blood and that he never sought it of man" and that "the Bible tells us if any man lacks wisdom, let him ask of God." Jonah, too, he pointed out, was sent to Nineveh by God and not by a missionary society.[34]

Much of the educational work on the frontier was done by preachers, but since Parker believed that wordly things had no part in religion, he was set against this practice. To him it was a matter of rendering to Caesar that which was God's. He did not object to education, but he believed it was not the function of the church. He agreed, for example, that Indians should be educated but held this to be the function of secular organizations.[35] On this point Parker wrote in his pamphlet of 1820:

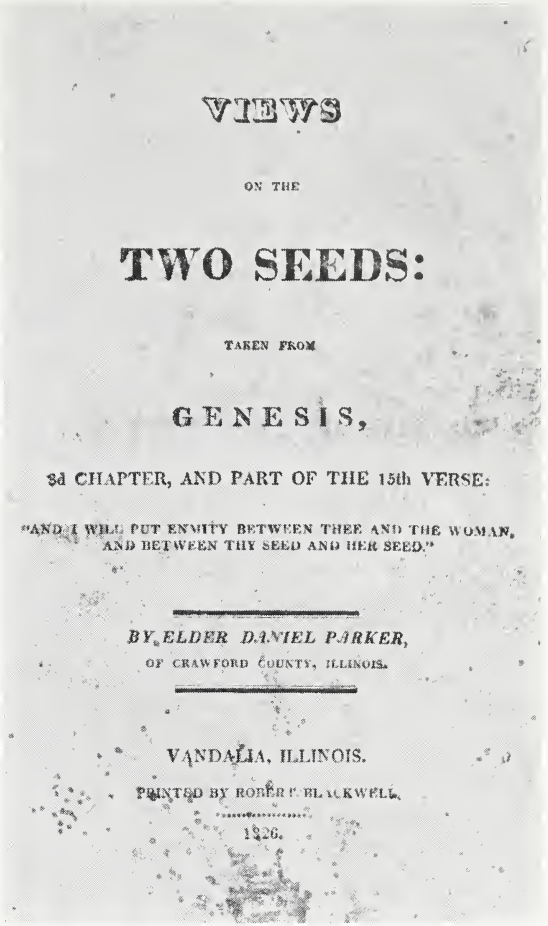
> It seems like making the sacred character of religion no greater than the merchandise of this world, and putting it in a long line of trade and traffic, when the colonization of the heathens ought to be conducted under the direction of our civil government, or a society formed for that express purpose, not under the character of any society of religion whatever. But we rejoice in all good that is done in translating the Bible, or educating the heathens and are willing to give our aid in counsel or money, provided it can be done and not dishonour the cause of religion.[36]

33. Parker, "A Short History," 259.

34. Daniel Parker, *A Public Address to the Baptist Society* (Clark Co., Ill., 1820). This pamphlet is not available to the author, but substantial portions of it are quoted in Carroll, *Genesis of American Anti-Missionism*. See pp. 115, 117.

35. *Ill. Intelligencer,* Dec. 7, 1822.

36. Quoted in Carroll, *Genesis of American Anti-Missionism,* 112-13.



VIEWS

ON THE

TWO SEEDS:

TAKEN FROM

GENESIS,

3d CHAPTER, AND PART OF THE 15th VERSE:

"AND I WILL PUT ENMITY BETWEEN THEE AND THE WOMAN, AND BETWEEN THY SEED AND HER SEED."

BY ELDER DANIEL PARKER,

OF CRAWFORD COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

VANDALIA, ILLINOIS.

PRINTED BY ROBERT BLACKWELL.

1826.

le page to Daniel Parker's
ws on the Two Seeds.
mphlet in Illinois State
torical Library.)

In the modern view, this fundamentalist belief, strangely enough, is akin to the American tradition of the separation of the church and state.

Parker also evolved a curious theological principle which he called "the doctrine of the Two Seeds." This doctrine, he says, was first brought to his attention about 1811 by "a few remarks made by an old brother." At first he rejected it as heresy and spoke sharply to the old man for having preached about it. He goes on to say, however, that having

examined the doctrine in the light of the Bible over a period of years, he found that the two could be reconciled and began himself to preach the doctrine. He came to believe that it was his "duty to proclaim on the house top" the ideas involved, and, consequently in 1826 he published a pamphlet entitled *Views on the Two Seeds.* He remarks that the cost of publication caused him considerable financial hardship, but his sense of duty brought him "to feel, that myself, with all I had, was the Lord's, and that if it even took the house and home from my family to pay the printer, let it go; I would, through grace, do what the Lord required." Having thus resolved his problem, Parker soon published another pamphlet called *Second Dose of Doctrine on the Two Seeds,* and then, in 1830, he began publishing a periodical called the *Church Advocate.*[37]

The Doctrine of the Two Seeds was an extreme kind of Calvinism, another, more encompassing ultra-view of predestination. Parker felt that all other doctrines had the effect of "bringing the sovereign predestination of God to turn upon the agency of the creature, and thereby making salvation more to depend on the soft, pliable nature of man, than the riches of Divine Grace." According to this theory, God created Adam with the seed of Christ in him. Eve, the woman, being created of Adam, could conceive of this seed. But having partaken of the fruit, Eve also could conceive from the seed of Satan. Thus womankind is capable of producing progeny both of the seed of Christ — the elect of God — and of the seed of the serpent — the non-elect or

37. Parker, "A Short History," 279-82. Only the first of the two pamphlets, a copy of which is in the Illinois State Historical Library, was available to the author. If there is a copy of the *Second Dose of Doctrine on the Two Seeds* in existence, the author has been unable to locate it.

fallen. Accordingly, Parker held, Eve and Adam, who had sinned with her, were to "conceive and bring forth an extra production, the seed of Satan, the Non-Elect, enemies to God, from the nature of their father the Devil, pursuing his lusts with enmity against the Elect seed."[38]

Acceptance of this basic premise leads to the principle that all the elect are to be saved and that God has his own means of salvation for His people. This necessitates the preaching of the Gospel so that the children of God may know the truth and be freed from the evil power of Satan and his children, the non-elect. Parker said that he believed the Lord would deliver his children from the delusion of Satan, and that this was the reason for his writing the pamphlet. Perhaps explaining his own belligerence in the matter, he wrote that the elect are a wrathful people because they are the natural enemies of the non-elect.[39]

Th non-elect "must perish in their sins, as they cannot save themselves, nor has neither will nor power to come to the Saviour."[40] The elect must, according to Parker, be brought to Christ so that they may claim their inheritance, which is the right to salvation by the grace of God.[41]

Parker took time to score other Protestant churches and Roman Catholicism in his pamphlet, showing his general intolerance in the statement, "There is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism: there is but one right way."[42] He claimed that all sects but the Baptists were "daughters of the old mother Rome, or anti-christian churches" and that "the church of Christ is the tabernacle of the Lord: while the

38. Daniel Parker, *Views on the Two Seeds: Taken from Genesis, 3d Chapter, and Part of the 15th Verse . . .* (Vandalia, Ill., 1826), quotations from pp. 3, 7.
39. *Ibid.*, 37, 38, 43.
40. *Ibid.*, Supplement, 2.
41. *Ibid.*, 43.
42. *Ibid.*, 44.

Church of Rome . . . [is] the tabernacle of Satan."[43]

Then, about 1832, Parker came to regard his work in Illinois as completed. Believing that he had "showd the plain way of truth" and that "his race [was] nierly run,"[44] he made plans to move on. Apparently he went to Texas in 1832 to survey the prospects and decided to move there.[45] Late in the summer of 1833, he and Patsy were selling land in preparation for the move.[46]

Parker's major problem in settling in Texas was a Mexican law which prohibited the establishment of a Protestant church there. But he believed that by constituting a church outside of Texas and then moving it into the area, the law would be complied with. Accordingly, on July 26, 1833, at Palestine, Illinois, such a church was constituted.[47] It had seven members. Some time later, probably late in August, the little band set out for Texas. They lived in tents and apparently spent each Sunday in religious exercise, making "the home of the savage . . . vocal with hymns of praise."[48]

Although Daniel Parker lived in Illinois only fifteen years, he had great influence in his time. His restlessness was like that of thousands of others who were impelled to move from one wilderness to another. His deep religious faith was of the kind that helped bring civilization to the frontier; yet he also represents the anti-intellectualism that was so typical of the frontier and that in part may be responsible for the anti-intellectualism which still hangs like a cloud over the United States.

43. *Ibid.*, 18, 37.
44. MS obituary.
45. "Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church," 88.
46. Crawford Co., Ill., Deed Book B, Aug. 2, 1833, p. 273. Coles Co., Ill., Deed Book A, Aug. 2, 1833, pp. 205-6.
47. "Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church," 85-90.
48. MS obituary.

EDWARD MAGDOL

Owen Lovejoy's Role In the Campaign of 1858

Innumerable books, speeches, articles and programs have been produced this year during the centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates — and the subject is still far from exhausted. One of the men in the thick of the 1858 campaign was Owen Lovejoy, about whom Edward Magdol is writing a political biography. The author is a native New Yorker who has been a teacher and is now a proofreader for the New York Times.

BY BREAKING with President Buchanan and openly opposing the Kansas Lecompton Constitution, Senator Stephen A. Douglas by 1858 had recouped ground lost earlier on the slavery question, the paramount issue of its time. For a moment Douglas enjoyed the tantalizing hope that eastern voices might sway Illinois Republicans to adopt him as their standard-bearer. But that moment was swiftly over and the hope quickly extinguished.[1] Douglas knew then that he must fight hard for his re-election; he must crush the ascendant Illinois Republican Party led by Lincoln if he wished to retain his Senate seat.

Assured of southern Illinois but shaken from his domination over the northern counties, Douglas knew he had to captivate the central districts into voting for him. Lincoln, on the other hand, was guaranteed a strong Republican vote in the northern part of the state but was equally sure to

1. John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1913), VIII: 310, 318.

gain little if any support in the southern districts; he too, therefore, had to woo the central plains counties. Here across the mid-section of the state was where the balance of power lay.

Much of this crucial middle ground was in the Third Congressional District, which was represented by abolitionist Owen Lovejoy, Republican candidate for re-election to his second term in the House of Representatives. The first of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates was held at Ottawa in this district, and Congressman Lovejoy was one of the honored guests on the platform with the main contenders — in Lincoln's corner.[2]

Douglas opened the debate on August 21, 1858, by seizing the offensive and striking out at Lincoln and Lovejoy. He threw up to Lincoln the charge that he and Lyman Trumbull had schemed in 1854 to abolitionize their respective parties, the Whig and Democratic, and deliver them over to Owen Lovejoy and his radical abolitionist colleagues. Douglas attempted to smear Lincoln by charging that he had surrendered all to Lovejoy and had accepted in its entirety the radical abolitionist program of 1854-1855.[3] (It was true that Lovejoy and his colleagues of Liberty and Free Soil background had attempted to enroll Lincoln in their abortive Republican State Convention at Springfield in October, 1854.)

Douglas probably hoped to ensnare Lincoln into a damaging admission of the charges. If Lincoln had affirmed them, Douglas might have been able to discredit him and check his emergence into political prominence; if Lincoln replied

2. Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), III: 13; hereafter cited as *Collected Works.*

3. *Ibid.*, 3.

in the negative, Douglas probably hoped to destroy Republican unity and to compromise Lincoln with growing numbers of antislavery men in the new party.

But Lincoln, in his powerful desire to become Senator, had prepared for this kind of accusation. He had begun early in 1858 to draw closer to Lovejoy in order to keep the central counties safe for himself. The relations of the two men became politically important during the campaign and deserve some scrutiny. What were their real relations in the 1854-1855 period brought into question by Douglas? And what were their relations during the senatorial contest of 1858? Was Douglas successful in splitting the Republicans and driving a wedge between Lincoln and the abolitionist wing led by Owen Lovejoy?

Years of political failure in terms of electoral results during the 1840's and up to 1854 had never discouraged the radical abolitionists led by Owen Lovejoy, Ichabod Codding and Zebina Eastman, the latter editor of the *Western Citizen* and later of the *Free West*. Their great opportunity was presented by the mass outburst against the Nebraska Act in 1854. Illinois lagged behind other states that had reacted quickly and had witnessed a rapid coalescing of diverse political elements into state Republican, or People's, parties. To Lovejoy and his co-workers this was a challenge they must accept, and they began to think in terms of an early state convention. Accordingly, they issued a call for a state Republican convention at the statehouse in Springfield on October 4 and 5, 1854.[4] They chose a date when thousands would be in Springfield for the State Agricultural Fair.

4. *Free West* (Chicago), Aug. 10, Sept. 7, 1854.

Only twenty-six faithful abolitionists gathered for the Republican convention. In the capital city on October 3 they joined thousands of their fellow-citizens to hear Douglas defend his popular-sovereignty doctrines. The next day they were excited by Abraham Lincoln's emergence from political quietude to refute the doughty Senator. Not the least of those so thrilled was Owen Lovejoy who, when the Republican convention began on October 4, urged his comrades to enroll Lincoln in their ranks. Some objection was raised to Lincoln's moderate views on slavery. Lovejoy alone of the radicals exhorted them to consider Lincoln seriously as one of them, or at least as an important ally. His persuasiveness became apparent later when Lincoln's name appeared on a list of state central committee members.[5]

When the sparsely attended Republican meeting adjourned, its resolutions had recorded hostility to slavery but had refrained from going beyond a demand to limit the system to its current boundaries. In this the radicals were concurring with millions who had become alarmed by the Nebraska Act. Nevertheless, Lincoln had made clear his unwillingness to leave the Whig Party by avoiding the convention and attending court in Tazewell County. Lincoln also showed his unwillingness to associate with Lovejoy and the abolitionists by declining an appointment to the Republican state central committee.[6]

Without the state's leading Whig, political fusion would

5. Paul Selby, "Republican State Convention, Springfield, Illinois, Oct. 4-5, 1854," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society,* III (1900): 43-46; Horace White, *Abraham Lincoln in 1854: An Address Delivered before the Illinois State Historical Society . . . Jan. 30, 1908* (Springfield[?], 1908), 25-47.

6. Paul Selby, "Genesis of the Republican Party in Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XI (1906): 270-73; Lincoln speech at Ottawa, *Collected Works,* III: 13; Lincoln to Codding, Nov. 27, 1854, *ibid.,* II: 288.

Owen Lovejoy

have been unreal, although Whig disintegration was apparent and real. This was demonstrated in the elections of 1854 when practical unity in some districts helped the Whigs to success. The outcome of the campaign served to strengthen Lovejoy's and the radicals' call for fusion. The abolitionist *Free West* supported Whigs and Democrats on the sole issue of opposing the extension of slavery. On the other hand, some Whig papers supported anti-Nebraska-Act men of all parties. The anti-Nebraska forces rebuffed the Douglas Democratic machine in this display of unity at the polls. Among the successful candidates who then constituted an anti-Nebraska majority in the state legislature was Owen Lovejoy. This radical abolitionist thus ended fourteen years of unsuccessful political striving by being elected to his first public office, that of state representative. Sangamon County

sent back to office Springfield lawyer Abraham Lincoln.[7]

Four years later Senator Douglas asserted that Lincoln had agreed to support the resolutions of the October, 1854, convention, which, the Senator mistakenly claimed, had called for abrogation and repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, prohibition of admission of any more slave states, abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and federal exclusion of slavery from the territories.[8] Lincoln, in his speech at Freeport in 1858, categorically denied the accusation. (Since he had fled the convention, he had never known the true contents of the resolutions passed there.)

The Senator's use of an incorrect set of resolutions – actually those of the Rockford convention that nominated E. B. Washburne for Congress from the First Congressional District – was a pitiful blunder originally made by the editor of the *Illinois State Register* and compounded by Douglas himself, who repeated the resolutions without a careful check. Lincoln's denial and refutation stung Douglas, who had to acknowledge his error before thousands.[9] The Senator suffered some of the embarrassment he had hoped to pile on Lincoln.

Another of Douglas' charges against Lincoln was that Lovejoy had pressed Lincoln for an antislavery commitment in exchange for the votes of the anti-Nebraska men in the February, 1855, contest for United States Senator. He taunted his opponent, saying, "Lincoln has evidently learned by heart Parson Lovejoy's catechism."[10]

In the 1855 session of the legislature Lovejoy did introduce three resolutions aimed at instructing the state's federal

7. *Free West,* Dec. 21, 1854.
8. Douglas speech at Ottawa, *Collected Works,* III: 4; Lincoln speech at Freeport, *ibid.,* III: 43-44.
9. Selby, "Genesis of Republican Party," 277; *Free West,* Sept. 7, 21, 1854.
10. *Collected Works,* III: 10.

lawmakers in antislavery policy. Only one of the propositions passed, and that by an almost evenly divided vote, thirty-seven to thirty-three.[11] This should have made clear then to astute observers that Lovejoy did not, and could not, control votes enough to make the kind of deal with Lincoln that was charged. Lincoln pointed out that "after Lovejoy got into the Legislature that winter, he complained of me that I had told all the old Whigs of his district that the old Whig party was good enough for them, and some of them voted against him because I told them so."[12] As for Lovejoy's position on the senatorial vote, he was reported to have voted for Lyman Trumbull from first ballot to last.[13]

Although Lovejoy was rebuffed by Lincoln in 1854, the abolitionists continued their quest for a coalition party in the summer of 1855. In August, Lovejoy wrote to Lincoln and Trumbull inviting them to unite their forces in one organization. Lincoln replied with characteristic sympathy that he wanted as much as Lovejoy to halt the spread of slavery. (Two weeks later he would confess to his friend Joshua Speed that he and other Americans crucified themselves with anguished silence over slavery.) Lincoln told Lovejoy that he would have to decline fusion; the pull of Know-Nothing cronies in and around Springfield was too strong. Lincoln felt that he could not risk a step into Republican ranks. He did suggest that he might fuse on terms proposed in the *Quincy Whig;* at the moment he could not recall those terms.[14] Nothing came of the suggestion. Thus, a year after the alleged scheme to abolitionize the Whig

11. *Free West,* Feb. 15, 1855; *Collected Works,* III: 62-64.
12. *Ibid.,* III: 13.
13. *Free West,* Feb. 15, 1855; *Collected Works,* III: 3, 5, 6, 13.
14. Lincoln to Lovejoy, Aug. 11, 1855, *Collected Works,* II: 316-17; Trumbull to Lovejoy, Aug. 20, 1855, copy in Brown University Library, Providence, R.I.; Lincoln to Speed, Aug. 24, 1855, *Collected Works,* II: 320-23.

Party, Lincoln and Lovejoy were even further apart.

But the growing movement against the spread of slavery forced Lincoln to move closer to Lovejoy's position. In February, 1856, Lincoln showed up at the Decatur anti-Nebraska editor's conference. This was headed by Paul Selby, of the *Morgan Journal,* and included George Schneider, of the *Chicago Staats-Zeitung,* and Charles H. Ray, who, with Joseph Medill, had just acquired a controlling interest in the *Chicago Tribune.* Lincoln wrote the main resolutions of the conference and was acquainted with its call for a state convention at Bloomington on May 29 — a summons to create a state party opposed to the extension of slavery.[15] Yet Lincoln was still hesitant to leave the Whig Party.

During the same week in February, 1856, Owen Lovejoy was an active and influential delegate to the Pittsburgh convention that created the national Republican Party.[16] In the following weeks of that spring, bloody events on the Kansas border marked indelibly on Lincoln's mind the need for action that the impotent Whig Party could not supply. It became clear to him, as it had to Usher F. Linder, that the Whig Party was dead.[17] Then, some time in May, Herndon informed his partner that he had signed Lincoln's name to a call for a Sangamon County convention to choose delegates for the coming Bloomington gathering. Lincoln's reply was, "All right; go ahead. Will meet you — radicals and all."[18] He could only have meant Lovejoy and his com-

15. Selby, "Republican State Convention, Springfield," 37-38.

16. *New York Times,* Feb. 23, 1856; George W. Julian, "The First Republican National Convention," *American Historical Review,* IV (Jan., 1899): 313-22.

17. Ameda Ruth King, "The Last Years of the Whig Party in Illinois — 1847 to 1856," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXII (1925): 108-55, esp. 141.

18. *Herndon's Lincoln* (Paul M. Angle, ed., New York, 1949), 312.

rades. But this was almost two years after the time mentioned in Senator Douglas' assertions.

Lovejoy and Lincoln united with many diverse forces in organizing the Illinois Republican Party at Bloomington on May 29, 1856. They were united, too, in the delegation to the Philadelphia convention that named Frémont the presidential candidate. But they were not so well united as to rule out an incident that resulted in great resentment by Lincoln. Back home in July, Lovejoy received the Republican nomination for Congress in the Third Congressional District. When Lincoln learned of it, he was very much upset because his friend Leonard Swett had not received the nomination. But after spending a day in Princeton, Lovejoy's home town, and speaking there at a Fourth of July rally that brought out ten thousand people, Lincoln thought better of the Lovejoy nomination. The admiration showered on the Princeton preacher by his neighbors was overwhelming and appeared to Lincoln to guarantee his election. He concluded it was best after all to let the nomination stand and go into the campaign with a united party.[19] David Davis, a conservative former Whig, also placed party unity first and did not openly oppose Lovejoy.[20] The Princeton abolitionist was elected to his first term in Congress by a comfortable majority.

Lovejoy and Lincoln began to move still closer together in the campaign of 1858. Lovejoy was up for re-election to Congress. Lincoln, remembering the fight for the senator-

19. Lincoln to David Davis, July 7, 1856, reprinted in *N. Y. Times,* Feb. 14, 1954; Lincoln to Henry C. Whitney, July 9, 1856, *Collected Works,* II: 347.

20. David Davis to W. H. L. Wallace, July 19, 1856, Davis to T. Lyle Dickey, July 18, 1856, both letters quoted in Isabel Wallace, *Life and Letters of General W. H. L. Wallace* (Chicago, 1909), 74-76.

ship in 1855, planned carefully to win in this second try. He needed an unmistakable majority in the state legislature, and Lovejoy, as the Republican leader in the crucial central part of the state, was in a position to be of inestimable value and support. When Lincoln, in March, 1858, discovered a plan afoot in Lovejoy's district to try an "independent" nomination, he immediately wrote a confidential letter to the Congressman at Washington. He urged Lovejoy to be vigilant against the possible maneuver. In a gesture of intimacy Lincoln's postscript ended: "P.S. Be glad to hear from you."[21] Furthermore, Lincoln counseled Ward Hill Lamon to submit to Lovejoy's renomination lest the district be lost to Lincoln himself in the approaching battle for the Senate seat.[22]

A look at the political map of the time shows that of the three Republican districts of northern and central Illinois, Lovejoy's, especially, caused apprehension among Republican managers. (The Third District was composed of the following counties: Bureau, La Salle, Kendall, Will, Grundy, Kankakee, Livingston, Vermilion, Iroquois, McLean, De Witt and Champaign.) Notwithstanding Lovejoy's supreme confidence that he would have no difficulty in attracting "Kentuckians," the proximity of his district to those with Democratic and Southern-born majorities made Lincoln and his friends watch the district carefully. Any divisive plots against Lovejoy had to be scotched. When moves were made to defeat the minister at the McLean County Republican Convention in June, even Davis yielded and relinquished votes pledged to him as an opposition contender. "The truth is," Judge Davis wrote to W. H. L. Wallace,

21. Lincoln to Lovejoy, March 8, 1858, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

22. Lincoln to Ward Hill Lamon, June 11, 1858, *Collected Works,* II: 458-59.

"the county is for Lovejoy." He explained: "If it was not for saving Lincoln for United States Senate a pretty great outbreak would follow. I don't believe Lovejoy can be beaten if nominated and there is no use of bolting."[23]

Lovejoy did win the unanimous nomination of the district convention at Joliet on June 30, and he used his acceptance speech to clarify his antislavery opinions and his relationship to Lincoln:

> For myself, I hate slavery with a deathless and earnest hatred, and would like to see it exterminated, as some time by some means it must be. But because I thus feel toward slavery, it does not follow that I shall seek its extermination in unjustifiable modes. . . . I am content to fight slavery in modes pointed out in the Constitution, and in those modes only. . . .
>
> As to antecedents, the less we say the better. . . . The original and varient [*sic*] elements of our party had to be melted in the crucible of our common cause. . . . But still I repeat it as my earnest and deep conviction, that the sooner we forget that we were old-liners in any direction and remember only that we are Republicans now, the better. I am told that fears are expressed about the southern part of the district and the southern part of the state — fears that Lovejoy will frighten away Kentuckians. Now I submit that was tried on in '56 till it was worn out. . . . But I can tell you that Lovejoy has no trouble with the Kentuckians, it is the renegade Yankees that support slavery that bother him.
>
> It is asked if I am for Lincoln? My reply is that the Republican party was not organized for the benefit of any man — it was not made for Lincoln or Lovejoy, or any one else, but it was organized for the purpose of giving efficiency to those principles of freedom with which, in theory, our government is instinct. . . . I am no hero worshipper. And now I am prepared to say that I am for Lincoln not because he is an old line Whig — to me this is no objection and it is no commendation — but I am for him because he is a true hearted man, and that, come what will, unterrified by power, un-

23. Wallace, *Life and Letters of Wallace,* 84. One correspondent of W. H. L. Wallace, Josh Whitmore, of Pontiac, wrote on June 5, "If Lovejoy is to be the nominee, I am ready to vote for a Douglas Democrat."

seduced by ambition, he will remain true to the great principles upon which the Republican party is organized. I am for him for the same reason that you . . . are for me. Why have the people of this district . . . honored me with this unanimous nomination by acclamation? Was this because they wanted to honor me as an individual?

Not that, but because they thought I had been true to those principles which they cherish and love as above all price and above all individuality. For this reason I am for Lincoln, and whoever is in Abraham's bosom cannot, I think, be far from the Senate.[24]

Despite the acclaim for Lovejoy, Judge T. Lyle Dickey of Ottawa persisted in making plans to run an "independent" Republican backed by Democratic votes and by "Douglas Republicans," as Lincoln termed them. Lincoln busied himself with correspondence as soon as he heard of this plan. He wrote to Burton C. Cook and Republican Mayor Joseph C. Glover of Ottawa, and to Owen Lovejoy, warning them of this development. Lovejoy and Glover assured Lincoln they would keep their counties "all right." Lovejoy promised Lincoln that Bureau County would send "a clean Republican to the Legislature, whatever his antecedents." Lovejoy also agreed with Lincoln that the basic issue of the campaign that summer was slavery. "I think you said the whole thing in a word," Lovejoy wrote Lincoln, "when you said that the mistake of Judge D[ouglas] was that he made slavery a *little* thing when it was a great thing."[25]

Dickey could not be dissuaded from his splitting maneuver and went on to make a charge like the one Douglas would inject into the debates a month later. Dickey, whom the

24. *Bureau County Republican* (Princeton), July 8, 1858.

25. Lincoln to H. C. Whitney, Aug. 2, 1858, Lincoln to Burton C. Cook, Aug. 2, 1858, Lincoln to Joseph O. Glover, Aug. 9, 1858, *Collected Works,* II: 532, 534, 537; Lovejoy to Lincoln, Aug. 4, 1858, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

pro-Lovejoy *Bureau County Republican* labeled "the original sorehead," accused Lovejoy and Lincoln of capturing the Republican Party: "The Republican party of Illinois unfortunately has passed into the control of the revolutionary element of the old Abolition party [Lovejoy] and those who have adopted or paid court to that element [Lincoln]."[26] Douglas followed in the same vein when he opened the debate with Lincoln at Ottawa on August 21. Lovejoy was on the platform the better to hear and smile when Douglas proclaimed that "Lincoln was to bring into the Abolition camp the old line Whigs and transfer them over to [Joshua] Giddings, [Salmon P.] Chase, Fred[erick] Douglass and Parson Lovejoy."[27]

Lincoln and Lovejoy went on to campaign together the rest of that summer and fall. On the evening of the Ottawa debate, Lovejoy was called upon to make a speech. He obliged the loud demands, took off his collar and cravat, opened his vest and shirt and went at it in the magnetic style thousands had come to identify with him.[28] A few days later in Young's Hall at Joliet, with more than a thousand present, Lovejoy again replied to Douglas' arguments of the afternoon.[29] Later, after the Freeport debate, Lovejoy responded to the cries of the crowd by climbing up on a dry-goods box and delivering an extemporaneous denunciation of the Democratic Senator and the Fugitive Slave Law.[30] In mid-September, en route to the Jonesboro debate, Lincoln and Lovejoy stopped in Paris to make speeches. Lovejoy again captivated his audience, many of whom had

26. *Bureau Co. Rep.*, Aug. 12, 1858.
27. *Collected Works,* III: 3.
28. *Bureau Co. Rep.*, Aug. 26, 1858.
29. *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1858.
30. Benjamin Shaw, "Owen Lovejoy, Constitutional Abolitionists and the Republican Party," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society,* III (1900): 72.

come prepared "to find him wearing horns and a tail."[31]

When the votes were tallied at the end of the campaign, it was clear that Lincoln came short of the necessary majority in the legislature. Douglas had won re-election but had seriously damaged his presidential possibilities for 1860. Lovejoy was re-elected to Congress, having made good his promise to keep the district "all right."[32] In a year when Republican votes fell off in the First and Second Districts, notable increases over 1856 were scored in Lovejoy's: 574 more votes in Champaign County, 786 in McLean and 416 in Livingston.[33]

Thus, at the end of a sharply fought campaign, Douglas had succeeded in drawing together Lovejoy and Lincoln. The maneuvering of some Republicans sympathetic to the Democratic Senator, as well as Lincoln's own ambition, compelled the radical abolitionist and the cautious lawyer to unite their talents. While in 1855 Lincoln was "sorter so and not so" Republican, now in 1858 he was "glad to hear" from Lovejoy. Their interdependence was forged under the blows of expediency, but their underlying hatred of slavery and love of freedom made their unity impermeable.

31. *Chicago Press and Tribune,* Sept. 11, 1858; William E. Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937), 27, 28.

32. D. W. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians* (Springfield, 1884), 44; *Bureau Co. Rep.,* Nov. 4, 1858, reported Lovejoy re-elected to Congress and his fellow-Republican John H. Bryant elected to the state legislature from Bureau County.

33. *Tribune Almanac, 1859,* 60, quoted in Paul W. Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), 246.

The Illinois State Historical Society

History

THE ILLINOIS State Historical Society is a group of men and women who enjoy a mutual interest — the fascinating history of the state of Illinois.

An interest in history has always been a marked characteristic of the citizens of Illinois. In 1827 — only nine years after Illinois was admitted into the Union — a number of the state's most prominent citizens met at Vandalia to organize the first Illinois historical society. James Hall, well-known jurist and author of Vandalia, was chosen president of the organization, and Henry Eddy, lawyer and editor of Shawneetown, was made secretary. The list of members included some of the state's most distinguished men: David J. Baker, Sidney Breese, Peter Cartwright, Edward Coles, Ninian Edwards, William L. D. Ewing, Samuel D. Lockwood, John Mason Peck, John Reynolds, John Russell, Theophilus W. Smith, William Wilson and Richard M. Young. Several meetings of the society were held at Vandalia, but the difficulties of travel in those days made it impossible to have regular meetings, and the organization soon disbanded.

In 1837, however, another effort was made to preserve the history of the state in permanent form, and a new society was organized at Vandalia, with Judge Lockwood as president and Walter B. Scates as secretary. According to a committee report made by Thomas Ford, this society intended to publish a complete history of Illinois from its discovery to date. Peck was appointed chief historian, and he was to be aided by a group of assistants who were to supply data from all parts of the state. Students of Illinois history will find the names of Peck's co-workers familiar — Gideon Blackburn, Breese, William Brown, Zadoc Casey, James Lemen, Lockwood, Pierre Menard, Nathaniel Pope, Reynolds, Russell, William Thomas and Young. But this society, lacking both public

and private financial support, also failed to survive, and the projected history was never written.

In July, 1843, at a meeting in Upper Alton the Illinois Literary and Historical Society was formed for the purpose of "collecting, preserving and diffusing information relating to the history of Illinois in particular, and of American history generally." The society was incorporated by the General Assembly on February 11, 1847, with Cyrus Edwards as president; Sidney Breese, William Brown, J. W. Browning, Jesse B. Thomas and Jonathan B. Turner as vice-presidents; and John Mason Peck and Moses G. Atwood as secretaries. This organization also was short-lived, and, so far as is known, no more efforts were made to form a state historical society until the present society was founded.

The Illinois State Historical Society, as it is known today, was organized on May 19, 1899, at the University of Illinois. Assembled at the call of the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, the group elected Hiram W. Beckwith, Danville lawyer and author, temporary president, and Evarts B. Greene, professor of history at the university, temporary secretary. These officers were re-elected at the first annual meeting of the Society, which was held in Peoria in January, 1900. On May 23 of that year the Society was chartered by the state of Illinois as a not-for-profit corporation. For three years it depended entirely upon the dues of its members for financial support, but by then it was obvious that the objectives and programs of the Society could not be carried out with the small amount of money collected as dues. Consequently, steps were taken to make the Historical Society a department of the Illinois State Historical Library (established in 1889). By Act of May 16, 1903, the General Assembly authorized the move, specifying that the Library Trustees use funds of the Library to defray the incidental expenses of the Society. Since that time the Society has been a quasi-public organization, supported in part by state appropriation and in part by members' dues.

The Library and the Society are tied together not only by their mutual objectives but by staff organization as well; traditionally, one Trustee of the Library also serves as a Director of the Society, and the State Historian (executive officer of the Library) serves as Executive Director of the Society (a position which incorporates the functions of secretary and treasurer). The Society is governed

by fifteen Directors elected by the membership. The Directors serve for three years — five are elected at each annual meeting, and they cannot immediately succeed themselves. The Directors, in turn, elect the President, Vice-Presidents and Executive Director.

Policy

At its annual meeting in 1941, the Illinois State Historical Society adopted the following statement of policy:

The Illinois State Historical Society is an organization of individuals with a common interest and a common belief. The interest is Illinois history; the belief is the conviction that a more general interest in the history of Illinois, and more widespread knowledge of it, would result in important individual and social benefits.

As an organization, the Illinois State Historical Society affirms its faith in history as the record of group experience. Our institutional life — our whole social environment in fact — is what those who have gone before us have made it, and without knowledge of their successes and failures we cannot fully understand the world in which we live.

The Society believes in history as inspiration. By preserving the record of great men and great events, it provides us with valuable evidence of human capabilities and serves to stimulate us to achieve, either individually or collectively, the most of which we are capable.

The Society believes that history makes an essential contribution to good citizenship and strong patriotism. It believes that the citizen who knows the past of his city or county or state will be a better citizen than the one who is ignorant of it; and that the man who knows the history of his country — who looks upon it as the product of former generations of men and women instead of as so many square miles of inhabited territory — will have a deeper feeling for it than one who doesn't.

The Society believes that history, no less than music, art, or literature, and in much the same way, has the power to enrich the lives of individuals.

The Society believes that local history serves all the ends that have been enumerated. Moreover, by dealing with the familiar, it frequently possesses vividness and reality in a greater degree than general history. In addition, local history often brings broad movements and trends into sharp focus and leads to clear understanding of what would otherwise remain obscure.

Finally, the Society believes that all the values to be derived from

history generally can be drawn from the history of our own state — that the story of Illinois is characterized by such variety, richness and dignity as to make its study and dissemination worthy of our best efforts.

In this belief, therefore, the Illinois State Historical Society defines the following objectives:

1) The encouragement of research and writing in Illinois history, to the end that the whole history of the state, and the record of the lives of the men and women who have contributed to its greatness, may be readily available.

2) The stimulation of interest in Illinois history among the youth of the state, and, specifically, the organization of courses in Illinois history and the formation of history clubs in all schools and colleges.

3) The stimulation of interest in Illinois history on the part of the general public. To this end, the Society will use not only its own publications and meetings, but will utilize the newspapers, the radio, public lectures and forums, and other modern mediums as fully as its resources permit.

In its efforts to attain these objectives the Society will continue to adhere to the strictest standards of scholarship. It believes, however, that accuracy need not mean dullness, and that there can be popular appeal without vulgarization.

Meetings and Activities

The Society holds two meetings each year to which all members are invited. The Spring Tour is held in May, and the Annual Meeting takes place in October; both are two-day sessions and are held in different cities each year. Addresses by well-known historians and trips to places of historic interest in and around the host city are featured at the meetings.

The Society has always encouraged the formation of local historical societies throughout the state. News of the activities of these societies is published regularly in the State Society's *Journal* and its *Dispatch*. Through the Field Representative of the Library, expert consultant service is also available, and co-operation is extended in whatever other ways may be found necessary.

The Society, in co-operation with the Illinois Division of Highways, each year erects historical markers along the primary roads of the state.

Publications

In 1900, its first year of life, the Society began a series titled *Publications,* printing three monographs by the President of the University of Illinois, Edmund J. James. This series was continued as the *Transactions* of the Society from 1900 through 1936, and as *Papers in Illinois History* from then until 1942. Because of the paper shortage during World War II the series was discontinued. In 1947 it was revived as *Occasional Publications* with the issuance of *The Civil War Diary of James T. Ayers,* edited by John Hope Franklin. *Old Illinois Houses,* by John Drury, was published in 1949 and *Balloons to Jets,* by Howard L. Scamehorn, the fifty-second volume in the series, was produced in 1957. A two-volume index (654 pages) to the first fifty volumes of this series was published in 1953.

As a part of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates the publication of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* was inaugurated in April, 1908. It has been published without interruption ever since and is now in its fifty-first volume. This is an illustrated quarterly magazine of Illinois history that is nationally known for its interesting and scholarly articles on all aspects of Illinois history and on Lincoln and the Civil War. The *Journal* also publishes reviews of books related to Illinois and information about the activities of local historical societies. A 714-page index to the first twenty-five volumes of the *Journal* was published in 1950, and an index to the second twenty-five is being compiled.

The Society has also published *George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in Illinois,* by Theodore C. Pease and Marguerite Jenison Pease (1929), jointly with the Illinois State Historical Library; *A Handbook of Illinois History, a Topical Survey with References for Teachers and Students,* by Paul M. Angle and Richard L. Beyer (1943); Theodore C. Pease's *Story of Illinois* (revised edition) and a pictorial history, *This Is Illinois,* by Jay Monaghan. The latter two volumes were issued as a part of the Society's fiftieth anniversary celebration (1949).

In 1958 the Society inaugurated a series of pamphlet publications with "*A House Divided Against Itself Cannot Stand,*" edited by Clyde C. Walton. Also begun in 1958 was the *Dispatch,* a "news-

letter" of state and local society events which is published quarterly between issues of the *Journal.*

In the past the Society also published several other pamphlets. One of these, *Lincoln's Inner Circle,* contains thirty-one pictures of Abraham Lincoln and his family and members of his Cabinet, with brief texts by Dr. Harry E. Pratt. Another is *Lincoln's Springfield,* which is, as its subtitle states, *A Guide Book and Brief History.* It was also written by Dr. Pratt, and both pamphlets were published in 1955.

Illinois History, an illustrated magazine, is sponsored by the Society and published by the Historical Library for classroom use by the state's teen-agers. It is issued monthly during the school year — October through May. The magazine was originated in 1948 by the late John H. Hauberg, a past President of the Society, and O. Fritiof Ander, professor of history at Augustana College (Rock Island) and a former director of the Society. In October, 1958, *Illinois History* was made available without charge and in quantity to school groups. Within its short life the magazine has come to be widely accepted by students and teachers alike as an important tool for the study of local history.

"Stories from Illinois History" is a pamphlet series, sponsored by the Society and published by the Historical Library, for the classroom use of teachers and students at the junior high school level. Thus far five publications in the series have appeared: *Marquette and Jolliet; La Salle and Tonty; Black Hawk, Warrior of the Sauk; The Slavery Struggle in Illinois;* and *Douglas: The Little Giant.* These pamphlets also are available without charge and in quantity to school groups.

Availability of Publications

Although it has been more than fifty years since the Historical Society began its publications program, many of its books, magazines and pamphlets are still in print and are available at a reasonable cost.

In the present-day *Occasional Publications* series, the *Diary of James T. Ayers* and *Old Illinois Houses* are out of print, but a few copies remain of *Balloons to Jets,* at $5.00 each. The *Papers in Illinois History* and the *Transactions* are available at $1.50 per volume. The *Publications* are out of print.

With a few scattered exceptions, issues of the Society's *Journal* are still in print and are available as follows: Vols. 1 and 2 (April, 1908, through January, 1913), $2.50 an issue; Vols. 6-8 (April, 1913, through January, 1916), $2.00 an issue (double issues, $4.00); Vols. 9-32 (April, 1916, through December, 1939), $1.00 an issue ($3.50 a volume, double issues, $2.00); Vols. 32-51 (March, 1940, through Winter, 1958), $.75 an issue.

Copies of *George Rogers Clark and the Revolution* are available at $1.50 each, but *a Handbook of Illinois History* and *This Is Illinois* are out of print — as is the pamphlet "*A House Divided Against Itself.*" The pamphlets *Lincoln's Springfield* ($.15) and *Lincoln's Inner Circle* ($.50) are still available.

Constitution of the Illinois State Historical Society

Article I: Name and Objects

Section 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society. Pursuant to Chapter 128, Section 17, of the *Illinois Revised Statutes,* said Society is declared to be a department of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Section 2. The objects for which the Society is formed are to arouse and stimulate a general interest in the history of the state of Illinois; to disseminate the story of the state as widely as possible; to encourage historical research and secure its promulgation and to collect and preserve all data relating to the history of Illinois and its peoples.

Article II: Membership

Section 1. Any person, corporation or other organization or institution interested in promoting the objects and purposes of the Society may become a member of the Society. The Board of Directors of the Society may provide for such classes of members as it may from time to time establish.

Section 2. Every person who is a member of the Society in good standing, including the authorized representative of a corporation,

organization or other institutional member, shall have the right to vote, to hold office and otherwise to take part in the proceedings of the Society.

Section 3. The Board of Directors of the Society shall have the power, for cause and after written notice and a hearing, to terminate the membership of any person, corporation, institution or other organization. The bylaws of the Society may contain detailed provisions on termination of a membership.

Article III: Meetings

Section 1. The annual business meeting of the Society for the election of officers for the Society and members of its Board of Directors, and for the transaction of other business of the Society, shall be held in the fall of the year at such exact time and place within the state of Illinois, as the Board of Directors may from time to time determine.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be held from time to time, upon the call of the President or by the President upon the written request of not less than five members of the Board of Directors.

Section 3. In arranging the annual meeting, or any other gathering of members of the Society, the Board of Directors shall cause to be prepared and published a suitable program, procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects and purposes of the Society.

Section 4. At any meeting of the Society, annual or special, twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum.

Article IV: Board of Directors

Section 1. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Board of fifteen Directors, each of whom shall be a member, in good standing, of the Society for a period of not less than three years, and a resident of Illinois. In addition thereto, there shall also be five ex officio members of the Board of Directors, namely, the President and immediate Past President, respectively, of the Society, the Governor, Secretary of State and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, respectively, of the state of Illinois; of these ex officio members, only the President shall have the right to vote.

Section 2. At each annual meeting five Directors shall be elected by the general membership present and entitled to vote, for terms of

three years each. A member of the Board of Directors shall not be eligible for consecutive terms of office, but shall be eligible for re-election at any time after the expiration of one year following the completion of his last term as a Director. The term of a Director shall immediately terminate if he ceases to be a member in good standing of the Society, or a resident of Illinois.

Section 3. The Board of Directors shall hold an annual meeting in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Society. It shall hold at least one meeting annually in addition to the annual meeting. A special meeting of the Board of Directors may be called by the President, or by the President upon the written request of at least five members of the Board of Directors. Written notice of meetings, specifying the time, place and purpose thereof, shall be mailed to each Director at least five days prior to the holding of such meeting. At all meetings of the Board of Directors, the immediate Past President of the Society, or, in his absence, the President or the Senior Vice-President, shall act as chairman.

Section 4. At all regular and special meetings of the Board of Directors seven members entitled to voting privileges shall constitute a quorum.

Section 5. A vacancy on the Board of Directors may be filled by the Board of Directors, the person so named to fill such vacancy to hold office until the next annual meeting of the Society.

Section 6. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed, and to this end it shall have the following powers:

a) To select an Executive Director of the Society who shall also serve as Secretary and Treasurer, to hold office at the pleasure of the Board.

b) To search out, accumulate and preserve in permanent form, facts, data and all manner of material relating to all phases of the history of Illinois.

c) To publish its own transactions as well as such other historical materials as it may consider appropriate, and to disseminate the facts of Illinois history by any other means that it may choose.

d) To acquire by gift, grant, devise, bequest, purchase or otherwise all manner of historical material relating to the history of Illinois.

e) To have general charge and control, under the direction of the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so acquired by the Society, and hold the same for the uses aforesaid,

in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled, "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and management, and to make appropriations therefor, approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889.' "

f) To make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society.

g) To appoint from time to time such officers and agents as it may deem advisable and to remove them at pleasure.

h) To make a report at the annual meeting of the Society of all the significant actions of the Board, and of the condition of the Society and its work, together with such recommendations as may seem appropriate.

i) To adopt such bylaws as may seem necessary or appropriate for the welfare of the Society.

j) In addition to the duties imposed upon it by the Constitution and bylaws of the Society, it shall perform such other duties as the Society may from time to time delegate to it.

Section 7. Within thirty days after the annual meeting of the Board of Directors, the President, with the approval of the Board of Directors, shall appoint the following standing committees:

a) Executive Committee, consisting of not less than three members of the Board of Directors, of which the President, Senior Vice-President and Executive Director of the Society shall be ex officio members. The Executive Committee shall meet on call of the President, to advise with the President on the administration of the executive affairs of the Society entrusted to his charge, and shall report all actions taken by it to the next succeeding meeting of the Board for approval, revision or disapproval.

b) Finance Committee, consisting of not less than three members of the Board of Directors, whose duty it shall be to prepare a budget for approval of the Board of Directors and see to it that all property, monies, securities and all other holdings of the Society are handled in accordance with the law of the state and to the best interests of the Society.

c) Nominating Committee, consisting of not less than five members of the Society, to prepare nominations for members of the Board of Directors, and officers of the Society.

d) Membership Committee, consisting of not less than five mem-

bers of the Society, whose duty it shall be to encourage desirable applications for memberships in the Society, and shall formulate and recommend plans for maintaining and increasing membership. It shall have the responsibility of giving effect to such plans as are approved by the Board of Directors.

Section 8. The President shall appoint such other standing or special committees as the interests of the Society may require.

Article V: Officers

Section 1. At each annual meeting of the Board of Directors, there shall be elected by the Board of Directors a President, a Senior Vice-President, not less than five Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, each of whom shall have been a member in good standing of the Society for at least three years, and a resident of Illinois.

Section 2. Each officer shall serve for a term of one (1) year and until his successor is elected and qualifies. The President of the Society shall not be eligible to serve consecutive terms in office, but shall be eligible for re-election after the expiration of one (1) year after the completion of his last term as President. All other officers of the Society may serve consecutive terms in office. The term of office of any of said officers shall terminate if he ceases to be a member in good standing of the Society, or a resident of the State of Illinois.

Article VI: Amendments

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting of the Society, *provided, however,* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors. At least thirty (30) days prior to such annual meeting said proposed amendment, together with a report of the action taken thereon by the Board of Directors, shall be mailed by the Executive Director to each member of the Society.

Article VII: Repeal of Previous Constitutions

All prior constitutions of the Society, and all amendments thereto and revisions thereof, are hereby expressly repealed and superseded by this Constitution.

The Illinois State Historical Library

THE ILLINOIS State Historical Library was created by an act of the General Assembly in 1889 to procure "all books, pamphlets, manuscripts, monographs, writings and other material of historic interest and useful to the historian, bearing upon the political, physical, religious or social history of the State of Illinois from the earliest known period of time." Its work is directed by the State Historian under the administration of a board of three trustees appointed by the Governor and serving without compensation.

The Historical Library now has 100,000 bound volumes and more than a million manuscripts. It is outstanding in its holdings of state and local history, Lincolniana and the Civil War, genealogy, the Mormons at Nauvoo and Illinois newspapers.

The Library contains more nineteenth-century Illinois newspapers than are available in any other institution. The newspaper collection includes over 10,000 bound volumes and 9,000 rolls of microfilm. Currently being received are 57 papers from 48 counties (38 on microfilm) — 39 dailies and 18 weeklies or semi-weeklies. The Library has eight newspapers whose files run one hundred years or more: *Bloomington Pantagraph, Canton Ledger, Chicago Tribune, Dixon Telegraph, Galena Gazette, Ottawa Republican-Times, Illinois State Journal* and *Illinois State Register* (Springfield). In addition there are 23 other newspapers with files of fifty years or more. The *Illinois State Journal* has been indexed for the years 1831-1860.

The only known copy of the first newspaper printed in the state, the *Illinois Herald* (Kaskaskia) of December 13, 1814, is found here, as is one of the three known copies of the only issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor* (anti-Mormon). There is a file (lacking one issue) of the *Alton Observer,* Elijah Lovejoy's famous abolitionist paper. Partial files of four of the first five papers published in the state, as well as more than a million issues of newspapers, are in its collections.

The map collection depicts Illinois from the early days, when the drawings were made from data supplied by the explorers, down to the present, with maps which show the latest changes by the State Highway Department. There are also thousands of prints, engravings, posters and photographs of persons, places and historical events.

Histories of Illinois and of each county and many towns in the state

are available for ready use. Atlases, plat books, histories of institutions, churches, schools and colleges (including college catalogs dating back to the 1830's) and of industrial and business organizations supplement the study of particular areas.

The most popular single subject of inquiry is genealogy. The general collection comprises several thousand volumes, acquired with particular attention to the states to the east, southeast and south, from which the majority of early Illinois settlers migrated. This is the largest such collection in the state outside of Chicago. The policy of the Illinois State Historical Library is to answer specific genealogical inquiries, many of which come by mail. A growing collection of genealogical material on microcards is available for use in the Library.

Complete files of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine,* the first magazine published in the state, are available in the Library, along with some six hundred books written by early travelers in Illinois. Among the rarest and most interesting is Victor Collot's *A Journey in North America.* Here in text and in detailed maps are excellent accounts of his travels, begun in 1796 on the Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi and Ohio rivers. A complete set of Illinois laws, dating from Hening's *Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia* (Illinois was part of Virginia, 1778-1784) to the laws enacted by the General Assembly in 1957, is in the Library, as is a copy of *Pope's Digest* (1815), the first book published in Illinois.

The Library's manuscript collections include the papers of nine governors: Augustus C. French, Richard Yates, John M. Palmer, Shelby M. Cullom, Joseph W. Fifer, John P. Altgeld, Richard Yates, Jr., Charles S. Deneen and Henry Horner. Many letters of the other twenty-two governors are also in the manuscript files, along with sizeable collections of the papers of other prominent Illinoisans.

The Historical Library's collection of Black Hawk War papers is the finest of its kind. It was gathered by Lieutenant Robert Anderson during the war in 1832. Included are a journal of Albert Sidney Johnston, letters to and from the commanding general, Henry Atkinson, and from General Winfield Scott, Colonel Zachary Taylor and Governor John Reynolds. Among the several hundred items is a muster roll showing the name of Private Abraham Lincoln.

Among the microfilm copies of manuscripts are the Robert Todd Lincoln collection of the papers of Abraham Lincoln and the papers of United States Senator Lyman Trumbull and of William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, all obtained from the Library of Congress.

Ranking among the top six institutions in the country in its collection of Lincolniana, the Library has over 6,000 books and pamphlets relating to Lincoln. These include the outstanding collection of the

late Governor Horner, and are housed in the Henry Horner-Lincoln Room. The 1,212 original Lincoln manuscripts (June, 1958) include many of his finest letters. On permanent exhibit is one of five copies of the Gettysburg Address in the handwriting of Lincoln, together with the original manuscript of the address of Edward Everett delivered at the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863. The original minute book of the Pigeon Creek (Indiana) Baptist Church, of which Lincoln's parents were members, is bound in home-tanned deer hide. There are election returns from New Salem written by Lincoln, his land surveys, legal documents, notes for the Jonesboro debate, his marriage license, nineteen letters to his intimate friend Joshua F. Speed and his earliest extant letter and check. There are more than one hundred letters of Mrs. Lincoln, and some letters of three of the four sons.

The Alfred Whital Stern Civil War Collection of more than 10,000 books on that monumental conflict is housed in a special room. Mr. Stern, a former Trustee of the Library, continues to add to this collection.

Thirty-three volumes of the *Illinois Historical Collections* series have been published under the direction of the Library. *Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858,* edited by Paul M. Angle, was issued in 1958. Fifty-one volumes of the quarterly *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1908-1958) have been edited by the Library staff.

On display in the foyer of the Library are letters or documents of all the Presidents of the United States. Also displayed are the bookcase from the Lincoln and Herndon law office and the desk on which Lincoln wrote his first inaugural address. In the Henry Horner-Lincoln Room, exhibits include the Library's collection of Lincoln books and pamphlets, the Gettysburg Address, Lincoln's marriage license, original doorplate, cane and gloves, a small model of a Civil War cannon which belonged to Tad Lincoln, and other items (periodically changed) of Lincolniana.

The Illinois State Historical Library answers mail inquiries. However, when a thorough examination of several books is essential to the solution of a reference question and the patron cannot come to the Library, books (when duplicates are available) may be sent to his own local public library for use there. Books that are rare, costly or difficult to replace must be consulted in the Library; so must all genealogical material and books which are in frequent use. Newspapers (original or microfilm) and manuscripts, being both unique and irreplaceable, are not available on loan.

Lincolniana Notes

Major's Hall to Be Restored

At the first Republican state convention held in Illinois, on May 29, 1856, Abraham Lincoln delivered his famous "lost speech." In the following year the same building, Major's Hall in Bloomington, was the location for the first classes of the newly founded Illinois State Normal University.

The third story, in which was located the convention hall, was destroyed by fire in 1872, and since then the building has stood virtually ignored. It might have continued so for years to come had not the Bloomington city council passed an ordinance to convert the block on which it stands into an off-street parking lot.

The impending destruction of the building roused the latent sentiment of Bloomingtonians and their neighbors. Spearheaded by the McLean County Historical Society, public opinion demanded — and received — the exemption of the corner of Front and East streets, where the old hall stands, from the parking lot which will fill the rest of the block. The third story will be restored, and Major's Hall will take its place among the Lincoln shrines of central Illinois.

CORRECTION: Since this was written, Major's Hall has been torn down. See next issue of the *Dispatch*.

Vermont, Illinois, Celebrates A Centennial

Abraham Lincoln spoke in Vermont, Illinois, on October 27, 1858. He had been driven to the town from Macomb the previous day by his friend Colonel Thomas Hamer, at whose home he had been an overnight guest. The next day, "Lincoln is discouraged by the cool weather and steady rain, but speaks for an hour to the 1,000 assembled in Vermont. He stands under a large umbrella while he speaks. He returns to Macomb by carriage" [Harry E. Pratt, *The Great Debates of 1858,* p. 29].

In order to have better weather for the centennial celebration — and it turned out to be perfect — the ceremonies were put forward to October 5, preceded on October 3 and 4 by presentations of the play *Abe Lincoln in Illinois,* directed by Mrs. Don Baily of Table Grove and featuring Pierre Marshall in the role of Lincoln.

The program in the park on October 5 included organ music by Olive Cox and Mrs. Harry Chick, a Boy Scout presentation of the flag, vocal music by girls of the grade and high schools under the direction of Mrs. Vesta Wilcoxen, music by the VIT High School band, and a talk by United States Judge F. O. Mercer, a former Vermont resident. Judge Mercer's talk covered the history of Vermont up to Lincoln's speech, with a brief sketch of Lincoln's early career.

Following the program and refreshments, the room where Lincoln stayed was opened for public view by Mr. and Mrs. Russell Kost, the present occupants of the Hamer home, and over four hundred persons took advantage of the opportunity. C. C. Mercer's museum was also open, and many antiques were on display in store windows. Rankin Beans and his mother, Mrs. Amos Beans, were general chairmen of the celebration.

Lincoln Centennial at Mount Sterling

The city of Mount Sterling commemorated on October 19 the day, one hundred years before, when "Lincoln arrive[d] in Mt. Sterling, the county seat of Brown County, after a tedious carriage ride of fifteen miles [from Meredosia], and addresse[d] a small crowd" before proceeding to Rushville to spend the night. (Harry E. Pratt, *The Great Debates of 1858,* p. 27.)

At the centennial celebration, a red granite boulder and plaque were dedicated at the corner of the North Grade School yard, on the site where Lincoln spoke. Hardin E. Hanks, judge of the Beardstown city court, a relative of Nancy Hanks Lincoln and the presiding judge in the Beardstown re-enactment of the "Duff" Armstrong trial in May, was the speaker.

Much enjoyment was added to the observance by its coincidence

with the blooming of more than 5,000 chrysanthemums, set out on lawns, in parks and along streets some years ago.

The Brown County High School band headed a parade from the business district to the site of the celebration. Vocal and instrumental music was by students of the Mt. Sterling schools. Sibley B. Gaddis was chairman of the committee in charge of arrangements.

Lincoln's Hand-Shaking Technique

There are many tales about Lincoln's prowess as a hand-shaker. Probably the one most often repeated is that of how he had to rest a few minutes before signing the Emancipation Proclamation because he had shaken so many hands at the New Year's reception earlier that day. He wanted to be sure, he said, that his own hand did not tremble during the signing, for he had never in his life been more confident that what he was doing was right. The following anecdote, sent by the *New York Times* Washington correspondent on June 16, 1861, and printed in the *Times* two days later, describes the President's hand-shaking technique which he had developed in the three and a half months since his inauguration:

Shaking Hands With A Regiment

The President and Secretary Seward to-day visited the camps of the Cayuga and Onondaga Regiments [from upstate New York]. The President shook hands with each member of the Cayuga Regiment. I have seen nearly all of our great men, from Jackson down, go through the "pump-handle movement," but there certainly never was a man who could do it with the celerity and *abandon* of President Lincoln. He goes it with both hands, and hand over hand, very much as a sailor would climb a rope. What is to the satisfaction of all is, that he gives a good honest, hearty shake, as if he meant it.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Horace Greeley, as editor of the *New York Tribune,* was one of the most prolific and influential Northern commentators on the Civil War and on the sectional strife of his time. A manuscript example of the famous Greeley chicken-track scrawl has been recently acquired by the Historical Library. It is a typical autograph editorial, written between the election of 1860 and the attack on Fort Sumter, and appears never to have been printed in the *Tribune.* Titled "Union — Disunion — Compromise," it concludes characteristically, "Let it be generally understood that the Republicans, while they do not desire disunion are not afraid of it and cannot be driven to repudiate their principles by threats of it, and all yet will be well."

The old veteran with his stories of the "Great Conflict" is a familiar enough figure in any generation, but one who puts his reminiscences in picture form is unusual. Frederick Eugene Ransom of Company E, Eleventh Illinois Volunteers, did just that, and his thirty-two-page sketchbook of Civil War camp and battle scenes is now in the Historical Library. Ransom was no artist, but he made the best of a fair skill and took infinite pains to record the humor and sentiment of his days in uniform. His last sketch, "Once a Rebel, Always a Rebel," which was drawn in 1891, reveals one soldier's unforgiving anger toward the South.

The founders of the town of Tremont, Illinois, had emigrated from New York, and when the time came for them to have a plat of their new town printed, it was natural that they should have the work done in their home city. The printer they chose was a young man of twenty-three who had just entered business for himself. The map he produced has been given to the Library by Joseph L. Shaw of Geneseo. It is titled "Plat of Tremont, Illinois, With the Additions Thereto, June, 1836; N. Currier's Lith., cor. Nassau & Spruce Sts., N.Y." The lithographer Nathaniel Currier was later to be better known as the senior partner of the great firm of "printmakers to the American people," Currier & Ives.

Book Reviews

WHO: SIXTY YEARS OF AMERICAN EMINENCE. THE STORY OF WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA.

By Cedric A. Larson (McDowell, Obolensky: New York, N. Y., 1958. Pp. 389. $5.00.)

Every profession, business and trade has its own private humor, but here is something that is probably unique — a *Who's Who* sketch of *Who's Who*:

IN AMERICA, Who's Who, biograph. ref. dictionary; b. Chicago, 1898-99; brain child of Albert Nelson Marquis and John Leonard; ed. entirely thru correspondence with world's great; m. several outstanding printers the latest being Von Hoffmann Press, St. Louis; children: *Who's Who in Chicago, Who's Who in New England, Who's Who in the East, Who's Who in the Midwest, Who's Who in the South and Southwest, Who's Who in the West, Who's Who in Commerce and Industry, Who's Who of American Women, Who Was Who.* Began career as a "biographical dictionary of living men and women, revised and reissued biennially" (outstanding foreigners of Am. reference interest having been included for several decades) in 1958, containing 3328 pages, and 56,547 listings, of which 50,645 are full sketches, for over 50 yrs. has maintained ratio of listing 3 in every 10,000 Americans; edited and published by Albert Nelson Marquis, 1898-1926, by Marquis and Wheeler Sammons, 1926-43, by Sammons, 1943-56, by Sammons family since 1956; now celebrating 60th Anniversary of continuous publication in Chicago. Won several lawsuits and/or Fed. Trade Comm. actions to protect integrity of biog. reference publishing; also won appeal in recent suit to preserve ownership and continued publication in Chicago. Honored by use in libraries, ednl. instns., newspapers, reference centers throughout world; by numerous magazine and newspaper articles, book reviews for decades, and now by book, *Who: 60 Years of American Eminence.* Served in World War I and II as standard reference work in Pentagon, military post libraries and on shipboard. Mem. A.L.A., Spl. Libs. Assn., Chicago Assn. Commerce and Industry, Nat. and Chicago Better Business burs. N. Michigan Ave. Assn. Clubs: Throughout nation fixture in club libraries. Address: Marquis Publications Bldg., 210 E. Ohio St., Chicago, 11.

That is the factual essence of this story, but it takes less than one of the 389 pages that make up the book. The rest is an interesting publishing history and a fascinating collection of studies of the nearly 350,000 biographies that compose the "sixty years of American eminence."

Before he launched the "Big

Red Book" Albert Nelson Marquis mulled over the idea for several years. He borrowed the "Who" of the title from an English publication that had been started several years earlier, but that was as far as the imitation went. He based his listings on "meritorious achievement" (instead of birth or title), made the sketches autobiographical and omitted the almanac-like information of the English publication.

Like several other Chicago business leaders of the turn of the century, Marquis could be described as almost puritanically strait-laced. He was "an ardent supporter of the Christian Temperance Union [and] the Anti-Cigarette and Anti-Narcotic Leagues." For the first forty years of *Who's Who* he was the sole judge of who would be listed — and he barred Frank Lloyd Wright as long as he thought he could (until 1924) because the famous architect had been married three times. Across the sketch submitted by an actor he once wrote: "Kill; divorced; talks too much." For years he would not permit the listing of an advertising executive because he did not consider advertising "a reputable field of endeavor." Incidentally, Marquis did not include himself among the great until Volume 7 (1912-1913), which was the first issued after his marriage in 1910 at the age of fifty-five — and he never did mention his age.

Although he remained active in the business until his death late in 1943, Marquis sold a controlling interest in 1926 to Wheeler Sammons, Sr., and A. W. Shaw — after searching for someone who would continue the high standards he had established. Sammons later purchased Shaw's interest, but he did not become active in publishing *Who's Who* until about 1937. He continued as head of the business until his death in 1956, and since then it has been operated by members of his family with Wheeler Sammons, Jr., as president.

If Marquis was somewhat reserved and withdrawn in his dealings with people, Wheeler Sammons, Sr., was entirely the opposite — even to the planning and perpetration of elaborate practical jokes. His favorite gimmick was "Tomahawk College," which he invented along with a fabulous faculty and an entirely imaginary student body. The matchbooks he passed out among his friends were fancily engraved "Tomahawk College, P. O. Box 334, Minocqua, Wisconsin," and some of the recipients would be notified of honorary degrees or be made trustees of the mythical institution. Several are reported to have turned the tables on him by listing themselves in their *Who's Who* writeups as alumni of Tomahawk.

This spurious information did not get by the editors, and it had nothing to do with the phony listings that are inserted in every is-

sue of *Who's Who* to trap would-be plagiarists attempting to pirate the material for use in similar reference books. The listings are entirely fictitious, and the addresses are a *Who's Who* plant — when the plagiarist queries the subject he will get an answer, but the Marquis company will have an open-and-shut case against him.

This trick is but one of the interesting sidelights in author Larson's book. Some of the others have to do with the inside workings of the business, and still another category concerns outside studies that have been made of the names listed.

One chapter is titled "How to Get Your Name in *Who's Who,*" but as close as the author comes to divulging this secret is to advise the prospect that an almost necessary first step is to get a college degree. He says that more than 90 per cent of those currently listed have at least a bachelor's degree. Then the aspirant might move to Connecticut, where there are more than seventy-five *Who's Who*-ers per 100,000 population. Or he could win a Pulitzer or Nobel prize.

Actually, of course, everyone listed in the Big Red Book is there by invitation — although the editors receive as many as twenty-five letters each week from self-nominators. To save themselves the work of constantly making decisions they have set up certain classes of "arbitrary" listings. Thus, they include the names of all persons elected to high public office, officers of the Army, Air Force and Marine Corps above the rank of brigadier and Navy officers above the rank of captain, heads of colleges and universities, members of certain learned societies, and the heads of businesses above a certain "capitalization level."

This last "arbitrary" classification once caused *Who's Who* its most embarrassing moments. The 1938-1939 volume carried a sketch of one F. Donald Coster, who was president of the drug firm of McKesson & Robbins. When he shot himself after being exposed for swindling the company out of several million dollars, it was learned that he had faked most of his *Who's Who* sketch also — in 1909, the year he said he received a Ph.D. from the "U. of Heidelberg," he was actually serving a penitentiary sentence as Philip Musica for smuggling cheese. Musica's machinations are told in detail here — and when the first edition of *Who Was Who* appeared in 1943, the circumstances were explained under the "Coster, Frank Donald" entry. Most newspapers were editorially gleeful over the incident, but when they were asked if *Who's Who* should change its methods or policy, they decided that the batting average was about .999 and that was good enough for them.

The most automatic of the "ar-

bitrary" biographees in *Who's Who*, of course, are the Presidents of the United States. The first edition (1898-1899) contained the names of six Presidents, past, present and future: Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland had already served; William McKinley was the incumbent, and Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson were yet to be tapped. Their sketches, and how they changed from issue to issue, and those of the men who came after them make up what is probably the most interesting chapter in Larson's book. Before he died "T.R." had the longest sketch of any President, one hundred four lines (1918-1919), and "Silent Cal" Coolidge was satisfied with twenty-three. Herbert Hoover, who uses *Who's Who* for bedtime reading, has the distinction of having appeared in twenty-five consecutive issues — more than any other President. Although the sketches are autobiographical, the editors do sometimes edit, and President Truman was involved in two controversies with them. He contended that he should be listed as the thirty-second President since "there have only been thirty-two men President of the United States up to and including me" and that the "S" in his name should not be followed by a period because it did not stand for a name. The result was that in the current edition he is listed as "Truman, Harry S, 33d President of United States (32d man to serve although officially designated 33d President)." President Eisenhower was first listed in the 1944-1945 edition with a twenty-five-line sketch. This was increased until in 1952-1953 it reached fifty-seven lines with twenty-six more in an addendum. He began whittling the space down after he became President, and in the current edition his sketch is nineteen lines in length.

Other chapters are concerned with the age of biographees — the youngest ever listed was actress Margaret O'Brien in 1946-1947 when she was eight — with Negro and foreign-born entries and several other special groups. Still another chapter discusses "How They Wanted to be Remembered" — and it turns out that Harry Houdini wanted to be known as "actor, inventor, author" but was listed as "magician," and Harold L. Ickes wrote, "My middle name is LeClaire and if you print it I'll sue." Also, the evangelical Billys are listed as "Sunday, William Ashley" and "Graham, William Franklin." Incidentally, the *Who's Who* editors evidently exercised the biographee's prerogative when, in the sketch at the beginning of these notes, they neglected to mention that the price for the first edition of *Who's Who in America* was $2.75 and for the thirtieth edition it is $25.

H.F.R.

CITIES AND CAMPS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES
By FitzGerald Ross. Edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1958. Pp. 262. $4.50.)

English-born FitzGerald Ross attended German universities and served in the Austrian army. He entered the Confederate states as a military observer and writer in May, 1863. He left in April, 1864, by way of Nassau and Havana and spent some time in the northern states and Canada before returning to England.

At times Ross was in company of Colonel Sir Arthur Fremantle (*The Fremantle Diary*) and Frank Vizetelly, correspondent for *The Illustrated London News,* and others of the reporting brigade. All had access to the leading military figures of the Confederacy.

Ross is addicted to a penchant of war correspondents through the ages — reporting the reporters, but he also has a delightfully easy style in reporting generals, soldiers, horses, mules, tents, mansions, slaves, masters and the scenes of the day. The whole picture, drawn at the time of the action, is a fine study of the South at war.

Ross proceeded from Richmond to the Shenandoah Valley and then up to Gettysburg on his first tour. His impressions of the Gettysburg battle are a fine contribution to the literature on that event.

A trip to Charleston provided a good mid-war picture of the siege there. He observed the battles in the Chattanooga area and then was back in Richmond. Along the way he set down good descriptions of Braxton Bragg, Jeb Stuart and other generals. He made another southern swing to Charleston and Mobile before leaving for Nassau and Havana on a blockade-runner.

When he got to New York, Ross reported the scene there, but his sympathy for the Southern cause was still apparent, as it was again in Philadelphia. He saw Niagara Falls before he left by way of Canada. His narrative is simple and direct throughout.

Richard Harwell has done an excellent job of editing. He left Ross's work in its original style and supplemented it with most informative footnotes. In this Harwell kept citations of book and page to a minimum and supplied quotations or background that add to Ross's text. Harwell went to many original sources for relevant material. One was the *Index,* "a remarkable propagandistic journal published for the Confederates in London by Henry Hotze." Other sources were the *Athenaeum,* the *Saturday Review,* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* which originally published Ross's articles.

Of Ross's work, Harwell says: "As an honest (though over-sympathetic) picture of the Confederacy during the latter half of 1863 and the early months of 1864,

it is one of the finest and most informative of the relatively few inclusive records left by outside observers of the Confederacy in its own time."

There are a number of rare photographs and drawings to illustrate the book. End papers are engravings of Ross's manuscript. The University of Illinois Press has done an excellent job of design and typography; the contents page has been given unusual treatment, and chapter beginnings have extra indentations of white space.

GILBERT G. TWISS
Chicago

LINCOLN FINDS GOD
By Ralph G. Lindstrom. (Longmans, Green & Co.: New York, 1958. Pp. 120. $3.00.)

Excluding the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, probably his religious beliefs have been the subject of more special studies than any other phase of his career. And probably more nonsense has been written on this subject than any other. As Paul Angle says in *A Shelf of Lincoln Books*, "Nearly everything that has been written about Lincoln's religion is either controversial or biased." Lindstrom's little book, like few in its field, represents a sincere attempt to present only the facts. It should be read by all who are interested in Lincoln's religious beliefs. It ranks alongside William E. Barton's *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln.*

Lindstrom lets Lincoln speak for himself most of the time. The reader can see how Lincoln phrased his references to God and, in a sense, grew from a sensitive seeker for the truth into a man who apparently believed in a Divine Providence whose will is eventually done on earth, and whose will we should seek to know and do. Lincoln sought to be on the side of God rather than to implore God to be on his side.

Closely related to Lincoln's religious beliefs were his beliefs in America and its future. Our federal union he looked upon as "the last best hope of earth." Lincoln's love of country was, indeed, almost a religion. But there was nothing chauvinistic about it. It was an idealistic patriotism, something that today seems to have been lost in the disillusionment following two world wars. But this kind of patriotism, or belief in our country, must be regained if we are to keep America a bulwark of freedom and light in a world which seems to be growing darker all the time.

In presenting Lincoln's views of our country's destiny in *Lincoln Finds God,* the author has made an even greater contribution than in his excellent discussion of Lin-

coln's religious beliefs. For as a nation we need to believe in something, stand for something, have an ideal which we seek to attain. Mere opposition to totalitarianism is not enough. We must believe. Lincoln believed in man — he believed in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and he wanted to see that this country adhered to those principles. Freedom and equality of opportunity are absolute essentials in a true democracy.

Social justice was an essential part of Lincoln's credo. He was not a member of any church. The creeds of his time kept him outside the pale of orthodox religion. But seeking to know and to do the will of God was religion to Abraham Lincoln. This nation "under God" should be the hope of the world — a bulwark of social justice, a light in the darkness for the oppressed of the world.

S. A. W.

AMERICAN MURDER BALLADS AND THEIR STORIES
By Olive Wooley Burt. (Oxford University Press: New York, 1958. Pp. xiii, 272. $5.50.)

Mrs. Burt, whose background includes such varied activities as school-teaching, newspaper work, and writing true crime stories, brings a boundless enthusiasm to her task of collecting murder ballads. If enthusiasm could serve as the sole, or even principal, requirement, the book would stand as an unqualified success; unfortunately, there is no evidence of any broad knowledge of balladry or of the musical backgrounds.

The ballads, loosely gathered into eight chapters, are less interesting to me than the stories that go with them. This may be taken as a tribute to Mrs. Burt's facile way with a story as much as a criticism of her practice of giving incomplete ballads when she wishes.

This volume can hardly be intended for the scholar; its employment of incomplete ballads or of single versions when several are known, and the absence of anything relating to the ballads about Tom Dula (Dooley) and Laura Foster, Birchie Potter, or Ellen Smith, among others, point to the work of the amateur and hobbyist. Perhaps then, the effort is aimed at the popular audience. If so, the author's comfortable prose may again be praised. One of the requirements for the popular ballad collection is the inclusion of music. Mrs. Burt has not been able, or has not seen fit, to provide tunes for most of her ballads. She describes the process by which some of her melodies reached print. "My husband patiently picked out again and again on the piano the tunes I tried to sing for

him, until he worked out a melody that sounded right for my memory of a song heard, perhaps, years ago." The result, in several cases, is just what one would expect from this method: a melody that is superficially correct, but lacking in the easy grace of the folk tune. There is one song beginning "Ist das nicht ein ransom note?" that she says was sung to the tune of "Ach, du lieber Augustine." It is painfully obvious that the tune should be "Schnitzelbank." Since Mrs. Burt has stated that the broadsides containing ballads were "descendants of the old troubadour songs and minnesinger lieder," I wish she had furnished some tangible evidence of this contribution to music history.

A number of entries are indexed under the heading "Illinois." All but two are passing references to places or circumstances that form the background for ballads not concerned with the state in any important way. Of the remaining pair, one contains the lines "But Chicago's big fire showed the world that Jim Fisk / Would never go back on the poor," this being the only reference to Illinois in the course of five verses, while the other is a ballad on "The Death of Charlie Burger," a bootlegger from the southern part of the state.

ELWYN A. WIENANDT
Baylor University

THE LOST PANORAMAS OF THE MISSISSIPPI
By John Francis McDermott. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1958. Pp. 211. $7.50.)

In this book Author McDermott recreates a forgotten story of the 1840's. Few people of our day have even heard of the great moving pictorial strips which thrilled our great-grandfathers before the newsreel, travelogue and animated picture, as we know it, existed. He deals with five panoramas of the Mississippi, most of which pictured the stream from St. Anthony's Falls in Minnesota to the delta near New Orleans.

The thrilled audiences saw the lowlands, the bluffs, snaggy trees, willow-covered islands and sand bars. Life along the banks of the mighty artery received due attention — Indian villages, small and large cities of the period; docks and water fronts; as well as the croppers and aristocrats, fishermen and trappers, and stevedores loading freight. There were simple cabins along the banks, the homes of wealthy planters, and the watercraft that plied the river.

How were these pictures made to move? The four-foot-high canvas was wound onto one upright roller, and unrolled from another. The tremendous strips were cut into sections to make them manageable. Painting the enormous

stretches of canvas was anything but simple, for the strips measured in length from 440 yards (1,320 feet) to 1,250 yards — almost three-fifths of a mile! As many of the strips could be run off in an evening as the audience would sit through. They were accompanied by narrative description and music. The audiences ate them up! But five on the same subject would seem to have been too many.

The rivalry between the artist-authors, with their claims of stupendous length for their pictures (one billed his as four miles long) furnished hot copy for the newspapers and, of course, publicity for the shows. Not all press agents were born in our time!

The author tells the stories of the intrepid and tireless panorama artists, and something of their struggles to sketch, record and then paint the huge canvases. John Banvard, a self-taught painter, seems to have done well financially, gaining fame, a sizeable fortune and even the honor of a command performance at Windsor Castle. John Rawson Smith and Samuel Stockwell were less fortunate, both losing the money and effort they had expended in creating their views. Henry Lewis was lucky — but he was a well-trained artist as well as a promoter. After a success in this country, he took his picture abroad and sold it to an East Indian planter. Finally came Leon Pamaréde, of French extraction, who had a wonderful financial start but was ruined by the fire that destroyed his picture. The effort and hope that went into these five pictures are incalculable. The loss of the panoramas is not in the paintings alone but in the record of customs and the changing scenes they provided; little remains except a few lithographs belonging to historical societies.

Frances Ridgely
Curator of Art
Illinois State Museum

ILLINOIS INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, 1818-1848
By John H. Krenkel. (Torch Press: Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1958. Pp. 252. $4.00.)

John H. Krenkel's volume on Illinois internal improvements presents a good, detailed, factual political history of Illinois' experiments in planning, constructing, financing and operating a transportation system during the first thirty years of statehood. The author has built his account mainly from published state and federal documents, unpublished state records and newspapers.

To those unschooled in the history of state economic ventures, the magnitude of the Illinois experiment in building internal im-

provements is nothing short of astonishing. Here is the story related by Author Krenkel: From 1818 to 1836, the members of the Illinois legislature, keenly aware of the state's needs for markets and settlers, repeatedly introduced measures to improve roads and rivers. Hampered by a lack of state funds on the one hand and by the inability of incorporated companies to raise capital on the other, the exponents of internal improvements had almost nothing to show for their efforts by 1836.

During the following year, however, the legislators — infected by the optimism of boom times — voted to build 1,300 miles of railroads and to make extensive river improvements. To finance these ventures, the Internal Improvements Act authorized the state to borrow $8,000,000. Supporters of the measure confidently predicted that the system of transportation would pay for itself. Krenkel dissents convincingly from those who have characterized the passage of the act of 1837 as an orgy of log-rolling, vote trading and scheming (pages 72-77).

The ensuing depression turned the golden dream of internal improvements into a financial nightmare. At first the state tried to continue construction of the system. As it became increasingly difficult to find markets for Illinois securities and to pay contractors, sentiment developed in favor of abandoning the program. In February, 1841, the legislature decided to stop further construction. Later the state authorized the completion of the only sizeable piece of railroad Illinois could boast from all the plans of 1837, a line from Springfield to Meredosia. Time proved it to be an economic lemon.

Krenkel explains the primary mistakes made in the construction and administration of the internal improvement system. First, construction of all roads simultaneously led to labor and material shortages and high costs; all estimates of cost were too low. Another major source of difficulty was the board of public works, administrative arm of the program. The board members, elected by the legislature, swayed under political pressures both in determining routes and in letting contracts.

In addition to relating the less well-known history of the Internal Improvements Act of 1837, the author tells the more familiar history of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. He devotes more than a third of the volume to a detailed consideration of the problems Illinois faced in liquidating the internal improvement and canal debts.

In modern terms, Illinois state debts incurred under the 1837 Internal Improvements Act and for the construction of the canal appear small. Governor Thomas Ford estimated them at about

$15,000,000 in 1842. In that same year the state collected in taxes something over $98,500 for all purposes, whereas the annual interest on the debt amounted to almost $800,000 (page 148). When the Illinois and Michigan Canal was finally completed in 1848, its total cost had run to more than $8,000,000. With income from tolls, rents, interest and sale of the canal land grant and with money from the Illinois Central Railroad fund, the state liquidated the canal debt by 1871.

The internal improvement system, however, had no income with which to discharge its debts. The sale of property connected with the system returned slightly less than one million dollars to the state, so that the major portion of these obligations had to be met through taxation and the purchase of state bonds in the open market. By the early 1880's the state finally had liquidated the debts arising from the Internal Improvements Act of 1837.

Krenkel believes that much of the credit for solving the debt problems must go to Governor Ford. He praises Illinois' record in discharging its obligations, first of all, as a record superior in honesty to that of those states who resorted to repudiation and, secondly, as a record superior in promptness to that of some states better able to pay.

Krenkel has written a good, accurate political history. Yet this history of "internal improvements" would be more meaningful had the author developed fully a broader theme implicit in his subject: the role played by the state and federal governments in the economic development of Illinois and even of the nation. During the past fifteen years a number of scholars, including the Handlins, Carter Goodrich, Louis Hartz and Milton Heath, have done much to re-evaluate the role of government in the American economy. Portions of their work place the state internal improvement programs in national perspective. In a similar vein the Illinois story would make important reading for a wider audience.

MARGARET BEATTIE BOGUE
Iowa City, Iowa

POLITICS IN WISCONSIN

By Leon D. Epstein. (The University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1958. Pp. 157. $3.50.)

Professor Epstein's study does not reach into the uniqueness of Wisconsin's political personalities and institutions, but rather is a broad study of political behavior. Thus, not much attention is directed to the intensely interesting question of how a state which elected the LaFollettes could also elect a Joe McCarthy, all within a short span

of years. In fact, this book employs little political narrative but, instead, presents a scientific compilation of political data for the purpose of testing certain hypotheses based on the concept of the American two-party system, expressing either conformity with, or deviation from, that system.

Objective and clinical as this approach may be, Professor Epstein deals with fascinating figures concerning a state which for more than fifty years operated outside the traditional American two-party framework — unusual in other than southern states — and from these materials he concludes that Wisconsin has moved toward the conventional two-party pattern.

Politically, post-Civil War Wisconsin, until 1896, broadly resembled most other north-central states in its dominant Republicanism, but the Democrats still provided substantial opposition, as indicated by the Democratic vote for governor, which hovered around 46 per cent of the total. This Democratic minority, however, was no less conservative than the Republican Party. The division was rather on the basis of rum-romanism versus the postwar claim of Republicans to patriotism and respectability.

That the ambitious Robert LaFollette was realistic is evidenced by his choice of the Republican Party as the vehicle of his progressive movement, and there is little doubt that the impact of this choice hastened the decline of the Democratic Party as an effective political opposition. From 1900 to 1932 Wisconsin's political battles were fought within the Republican Party, and never in those years did the Democrats win a governorship. In fact, under the leadership of the LaFollette sons, all liberal elements of the Democratic Party were taken into the separate Progressive organization, so that the Democratic Party was reduced to third-party status. In 1938, for example, the Democratic candidate for governor polled only 8 per cent of the total vote.

Professor Epstein points out that such an anomalous situation could not continue, and finally the alliance between the Progressives and the national Democratic administration split under the combined effect of Philip LaFollette's effort to form a national third party and the irreconcilable differences between the isolationist LaFollettes and the internationalist Roosevelt. Thereafter, at least compared to previous twentieth-century experience, Wisconsin began to approach the two-party model in that competition for Republican officeholders now came more from Democrats in the general election than from opponents in their own primary. Solid Republican dominance remained, however, despite the growth of Democratic majorities in metropolitan centers and marginal farm-

ing areas, and this fact helps to explain the curiosity that voters who elected Robert LaFollette, Sr., could also elect Joe McCarthy — both were Republicans with much magnetism and a similar outlook on foreign policy.

It is pointed out that the defeat of Robert LaFollette, Jr., by Joe McCarthy in the 1946 primary may have been a happy event in that it was decisive in future political history of the state, since never again did a LaFollette campaign for state-wide office, and no one remained to attract the liberal and labor vote to the Republican Party. Generally speaking, the result has been to divide the electorate into conservative-isolationist Republicans and liberal-internationalist Democrats.

This book is a necessity to anyone interested in the politics of Wisconsin or any of the north-central states.

JERRY M. SLECHTA
Jefferson, Wisconsin

LINCOLN LIVES

By Margaret J. O'Connell. (Vantage Press: New York, 1957. Pp. 59. $2.00.)

This is a most unusual little book written by an ardent admirer of Abraham Lincoln and an extremely enthusiastic photographer. Miss O'Connell is also a schoolteacher. Fortunate, indeed, are youngsters whose instructor is a person of such keen interests.

The book is in the form of a diary which begins June 26, 1952, in Springfield, Illinois. The last entry is August 28, 1956, a day which began with breakfast in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Only those days are included which record a visit to some place associated with Lincoln, his parents or other ancestors, or a museum of Lincoln relics.

Perhaps during the year of 1958 the author was able to visit the towns associated with the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. In Springfield she missed seeing, apparently, one of the greatest collections of Lincolniana in the country at the Illinois State Historical Library, and no mention is made of the old Capitol (now the Sangamon County Courthouse) which played so important a part in Lincoln's life and near which his law offices were located.

We had never before heard of Almerrin E. Arnold who, it is claimed, was a member of Lincoln's bodyguard and, though not on duty the night of April 14, 1865, was in Ford's Theatre and later got a piece of crepe from Lincoln's casket. More light on him would be appreciated.

We doubt if Lincoln's visit to Independence Hall in February, 1861, was his first to that historic building. Lincoln attended the

Whig Convention in Philadelphia in 1848 and was there several days. It seems reasonable to assume that he would have made an effort to see so famous a landmark as Independence Hall.

Anyone interested in making similar pilgrimages to places associated with Lincoln or his ancestors will enjoy seeing the selections this author has made and her experiences in finding them.

S. A. W.

THE PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, VOL. XII. Edited by Milton W. Hamilton. (University of the State of New York: Albany, N. Y., 1957. Pp. 1124. $8.00.)

Scholars and students of American colonial history will welcome this addition to the Sir William Johnson collection. The discovery of many new letters, dated from 1766 to 1774, caused this volume to grow to such length that another one (containing journals, accounts, and land papers) will be necessary to complete the publication of the Johnson papers. This additional volume and an index to the entire collection will be published in the near future. Dr. Hamilton has done a very commendable job of editing the material and identifying the sources.

This reviewer, however, does question the year date of the letter from Thomas Gage to William Johnson found on page 547. Since this item is taken from a copy — not the original — an error could have been made by the copyist years ago. The year certainly should be 1769 and not 1768 because Pontiac was killed within the first week after Easter in 1769. And the word "Pevin" probably was the copyist's reading of "Peoria." (See *The Papers of Sir William Johnson,* VII: 15-16 and *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XVI: 556.)

WAYNE C. TEMPLE
Lincoln Memorial University

News and Comment

Society's 1958 Meeting Largest Ever Held

Perfect autumn weather and an interesting program, plus the celebration of the centennial of the fifth Lincoln-Douglas Debate, attracted the largest crowd ever to attend a meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society when the fifty-ninth annual session was held in Galesburg on October 4 and 5. So large was the attendance that it taxed the capacities of the available dining facilities. Only on one occasion, however, did this result in disappointment to any of the visitors. That was at the Annual Dinner Saturday, when it was necessary to limit the number of tickets to four hundred and to turn away about twenty late applicants.

Knox College and Galesburg were hosts to the meeting, which was a part of their four-day celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate centennial. The college had a number of special exhibits for the occasion, and the campus was decorated in a modernized version of its appearance in 1858. Most of the stores had window displays of implements, utensils, clothing, pictures and other items that could be called "antiques" even if they were not quite a century old.

Historical Society members registered on Saturday morning at the "Old Main" Building of Knox College — at the east end of which Lincoln and Douglas had debated. The morning session was held in Beecher Chapel (built in 1855) on the Knox campus, where the Civil War minister was Edward Beecher, brother of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe. President Sharvy G. Umbeck of Knox outlined briefly the history of the college in welcoming the group to the campus. Galesburg Mayor William H. Small and Knox County School Superintendent J. R. Peck also welcomed the visitors.

One of the most important programs of the two-day session followed these short greetings. This was the Joseph Medill Symposium on the "Constitution and Declaration of Independence as Issues in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates." Historians Allan Nevins of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and Willard L. King of Chicago made a debate-style presentation of the subject and their talks were followed by comments by Arthur Bestor of Champaign and Harlington Wood, Jr., of Springfield. (The papers of Mr.

Nevins and Mr. King will be published in the Spring, 1959, issue of this *Journal,* which will be the Lincoln Sesquicentennial number.)

Society members and representatives of several midwestern Civil War Round Tables were the guests of Knox at a luncheon served in the gardens and dining rooms of the college's Whiting Hall. Group singing of "Oh! Susanna," "Dixie" and "Blue Tail Fly" followed the luncheon.

In the early afternoon some of the members attended the Knox-Monmouth football game (Knox won, 30-12), while others visited the various exhibits, particularly those in the Henry M. Seymour Library Building. In the lobby there was an art exhibit consisting of paintings, watercolors, crayon drawings, and pen and ink sketches of Lincoln, early Galesburg scenes and the city's founders. One room of the library was devoted to the Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang Collection of Lincolniana, and in a larger room were a number of other exhibits. These included the collections of papers, photographs and antiques of several Galesburgers plus the ten panels of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates exhibit of the State Historical Library (see Autumn *Journal*).

Sessions were resumed at Beecher Chapel at 4 P.M., when Dr. Hermann R. Muelder, professor of history and dean of Knox College, gave a talk on "The Moral Lights Around Us," the title of which was from Lincoln's statement during the Galesburg debate about Douglas' position: "He is blowing out the moral lights around us who contends that whoever wants slaves has a right to hold them." (Dean Muelder's talk will be published in the Summer, 1959, *Journal.*)

Preceding the annual business meeting of the Historical Society that followed the afternoon session, President Alexander Summers introduced Past Presidents Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, Irving Dilliard, John W. Allen, Ralph E. Francis and Elmer Abrahamson. The nominating committee, headed by the immediate Past President, Ralph E. Francis, proposed the following slate of directors for the three-year term ending in 1961: David Davis, Bloomington; Raymond N. Dooley, Lincoln; Wasson W. Lawrence, Fairfield; Robert M. Sutton, Urbana; and C. C. Tisler, Ottawa. There were two more nominations from the floor, so a written vote was taken. When the ballots were counted the committee's slate was elected.

The directors met later in the evening and elected Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., of Moline, President for the 1958-1959 year, and Ralph G. Newman, of Oak Park, Senior Vice-President, while Ray A. Billington, Evanston; Mrs. John S. Gilster, Chester; Herman G. Nelson, Rockford; Philip D. Sang, River Forest; and Donald F. Ting-

ley, Charleston, were named Vice-Presidents. Clyde C. Walton was named Executive Director.

At their meeting the directors also selected Chester as the site for the 1959 Spring Tour on May 9 and 10, and Wheaton for the

President Lyon

Annual Meeting on October 9, 10 and 11.

Following election of the directors, the membership voted to adopt the Society's new constitution, with several minor amendments. A vote of thanks for drafting the constitution was given Past President Abrahamson, and the business meeting was adjourned.

During the annual banquet that evening in the dining room of the Hotel Custer, the Galesburg High School choir of seventy-eight boys and girls gave a concert of more than a dozen songs, most of them dating from the Civil War period.

Preliminary to the evening's program President Alexander Summers announced the establishment of a new series of merit awards for members who perform outstanding services for the Society and for their local communities. He then presented the first three of the awards to John W. Allen of Carbondale, Charles H. Coleman of Charleston, and H. A. Berens of Elmhurst. Executive Director Walton announced two Illinois awards from the American Association for State and Local History — one to Don E. Fehrenbacher for writing *Chicago Giant, a Biography of "Long John" Wentworth,* and the other to R. R. Donnelley and Company for fifty-five years (1903-1958) of publishing the *Lakeside Classics.*

The speaker of the evening, Bruce Catton, was introduced by Marvin H. Lyon, Jr. Winner of two Pulitzer prizes, Catton told the story of the spectacular rise in popularity of *American Heritage* magazine, which he edits. Although he spoke relatively briefly it was 9:20 P.M. when he finished, and the presentation of Otto Harbach's play, "The Baffling Eyes of Youth," at the Knox College Theater — which the members were invited to attend — had already begun. Few members availed themselves of the opportunity to attend the remainder of the performance.

With about a hundred members of the Society in the audience a memorial service was held at the

Mother Bickerdyke monument on the Knox County Courthouse grounds at 10:30 A.M., Sunday. Mrs. Stuart Lawrence of Galesburg gave a brief history of Mother Mary Ann Bickerdyke's career, which was followed by a prayer by the Rev. Ernest Fischer, pastor of the Central Congregational Church. President Summers then placed a basket of flowers at the foot of the monument for the Society. This monument, with its two heroic-size bronze figures by Theo Alice Ruggles-Kitson, has a plaque on its base which reads: "Mary A. Bickerdyke, 1817-1901, in recognition of her patriotic and heroic devotion to the 'Boys in Blue' in camp, in hospital and on the field, the State of Illinois has under the auspices of the Mother Bickerdyke Memorial Association erected this statue, 1904."

In addition to the Society members the nearly four hundred guests at the Sunday luncheon at the Galesburg Club included representatives of the Civil War Round Tables of Chicago, Milwaukee, Madison, Springfield, Rock Island - Davenport - Moline, and Peoria. At the luncheon, the Knox College octette sang several songs, and members of the Knox County Bar Association presented a skit titled "The Night of Decision," written by Carolyn E. Weinberg. The scene portrayed was the meeting of the Galesburg arrangements committee on the night before the Lincoln-Douglas Debate there on October 7, 1858.

A panel discussion followed with E. B. "Pete" Long acting as moderator. The panelists presented a variety of opinions on various facets of the subject, "The Importance of the Mississippi Valley in the Civil War." These speakers were Dr. William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin, Catton, Nevins and Walton, with brief comments added by various others from the floor.

At 3:25 P.M. buses of Knox County School District 205 were drawn up in the Club driveway for a tour of the historic sites of Galesburg and Knoxville. The route passed the public square and the Knox campus, the Galesburg House, the burned-out shell of the public library, which in 1858 was the site of the Henry R. Sanderson home, where Lincoln stayed; the George W. Gale house; the Clark E. Carr house; and the home of Mrs. Ella Park Lawrence, who promoted the adoption of the Illinois state flag. The route led around Galesburg Lake, where the sumac and maples were beginning to turn red and gold, and by the site of Log City, the original Galesburg settlement.

The first stop was made at the birthplace of Carl Sandburg, where the visitors went through the house which has been made a national shrine. Since it was then after 5 P.M. several of the ten buses turned back at this point. The others continued the tour,

which led past the site of Lombard College (closed in 1930) and out to Knoxville, where coffee was served at the historic courthouse by a committee headed by Mrs. Irving Garcelon and Mrs. Gene Hebard. At this stop the visitors also went through the old limestone jail nearby. Another stop was made at St. Mary's Episcopal Chapel on the outskirts of Knoxville, and the buses then returned to Galesburg, where they arrived well after 6 P.M. and after dark.

This ended the Historical Society's 1958 program, but many of the members remained for Galesburg's Carl Sandburg Banquet that night, and a number stayed for the remaining two days of the celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate centennial.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

The Alton Area Historical Society began its 1958-1959 season with a tour of old houses in the Upper Alton vicinity on September 14. Following the tour Mr. and Mrs. Maitland Timmermeier exhibited their antique collection, and tea was served at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Horace Ash.

The Bond County Historical Society held an open house on Sunday, November 30, to celebrate the inauguration of its new Historical Museum, located in the northwest corner room on the second floor of the courthouse in Greenville. More than 130 visitors attended the event.

Most of the many more than one hundred articles and papers in the display were associated directly with the early history of Bond County. The earliest known period was represented by an Indian spade and tomahawk and a copper teapot from an Indian burying ground. Another early memento was a portion of a walnut rail that was used at the Bond County salines in the 1820's. There were household furnishings ranging from the crudely homemade to a rosewood piano which was brought from New Orleans by river boat and wagon in 1840. The household articles included glass, ironstone china, a churn, a wool carder, a washboard, a lard lamp and many others. There was an exhibit of clocks and another containing pictures of sixty-six one-room schools that once dotted the county. The Civil War was represented by a cannon ball, a sword, bayonet and a powder flask. A souvenir of more recent history was the propeller from a pusher-type plane which, in 1911, was the first to fly — and first to crash — in the county.

Due to the use of an erroneous source for the information, the Autumn issue of this *Journal* stated that the "planned opening of the [Bond County] Society's mu-

seum . . . had to be postponed, since more items were continuing to come in and [Curator] Carl Gobberdiel had not finished work on the display cases." This was not the case since November 30 was the only date ever set for the opening and the event took place on schedule, and with all the work finished as planned.

The Champaign County Historical Society was organized with thirty-six charter members at a meeting in the Urbana Free Library on October 20. Officers of the group are Karl B. Lohmann, president; Olin Browder, vice-president; Mrs. Walter L. Shively, secretary; and Chancy L. Finfrock, treasurer. All the officers are members of the board of governors, along with Natalia M. Belting, Nathan Rice, and three yet to be chosen.

Roger L. Severns, trustee of the Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago, spoke on "Past, Present and Future of the Sanitary and Ship Canal in Lawndale-Crawford" at the October 8 meeting of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Society (Chicago), held in the Toman Branch Library. Dr. Joseph Ewald, assistant principal of Harrison High School, presided. The Society's president, Peter B. Ritzma, welcomed the Golden Age group of Lawndale-Crawford as honored guests. Joseph Garasic presided at the organ for community singing. This was the twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of the Society.

John M. Quindry of Fairfield addressed the Edwards County Historical Society on August 28 on "Recollections of the Southern Collegiate Institute and Albion of Those Days [1901]." Bruce Saxe is president of the Society.

The new season of the Evanston Historical Society opened with a bus tour of historic landmarks in the city on October 11.

The Greene County Historical Society met on August 19 to plan a membership drive. The Society also voted to rent the former bus station on the square as its headquarters. This room is part of an old hotel built about 1832 by James Reno, and is the room in which Lincoln is said to have stayed while in Carrollton on business. Stuart E. Pierson reviewed some of the hotel's history.

At the Society's meeting in its new headquarters on October 6, Julia Pearson read a history of early days in Greene County, prepared by the late Mrs. A. J. Sharon. Officers of the Society are Rollins L. Scott, president; Mrs. O. T. Purl, vice-president; Mrs. Damon Driver, secretary; J. J. Eldred, treasurer; Mrs. P. J. Achenbach, Mrs. H. C. Borlin, and the officers comprise the board of directors.

At the dinner meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society, held at the West Salem Church on September 15, George N. Webb spoke on "Historical Sketches of Spots in Jefferson County."

New officers of the Jersey County Historical Society, chosen at a meeting on September 8, are Paul Fleming, president; Mrs. Louis Heider, vice-president; Celia Sinclair, secretary; Cora Lofton, treasurer; Mrs. John G. Flautt, J. R. Fulkerson and Arch D. Nelson, directors. Retiring President Nelson gave a resumé of last season's activities.

The first of five historical markers to be erected in the Aroma Park area under the auspices of the Kankakee County Historical Society was dedicated on October 27 at Baker Creek and Waldron Road, near the site of the old Ohio House. Ralph E. Francis, Past President of the Illinois State Historical Society and a director of the county Society, was master of ceremonies and gave a brief outline of the old inn's history. The marker was unveiled by Martin Van Der Karr, who supervised its erection, and Mrs. Fannie Still. Sixth-grade pupils have been writing historical essays in connection with the marker project, under the direction of their teachers, John B. Muhm and Mrs. Doris Smith. Two of the children, Rosemary Balk and Robert Themer, read their sketches at the dedication ceremonies. Almost every organization in Aroma Park and nearby towns was represented.

Other markers are to be erected at Chobar's and Day's fords, at the location of the old post office and school, and at the site of Mount Langum, southeast of Aroma Park.

The Kornthal Congregational and Historical Society appointed a committee on September 28, consisting of Otto Finger and the Revs. Hugh Paton and Edward Johnson, to continue negotiations with the State of Illinois for financial aid to maintain the historic church south of Jonesboro as a memorial. Legislation to that effect is being prepared for introduction at the next General Assembly.

At the September 7 meeting of the Land o' Goshen Historical Society, held in the Edwardsville Public Library, George L. Moorman, Sr., spoke on N. O. Nelson and the model village of Leclaire (now part of Edwardsville) which he founded. Mrs. Elmer Jahns presided in the absence of Mrs. Eugene Schmidt, president. Other officers are Lena Graham, vice-president, and Mrs. Albert Tuxhorn, secretary-treasurer.

More than a hundred people participated in the tour of the original town of Edwardsville,

sponsored by the Sociey on October 5. Brief historical sketches of various buildings visited were given by Jessie Springer, Willard Flagg, Lena Graham, Robert C. Lange and Ella Tunnell.

The La Salle County Historical Society met at the farm home of Arthur Theisinger near Wenona on August 3 and inspected Mr. Theisinger's collection of old-time farm equipment. President John Graham spoke on the history of the "panhandle" of the county.

The Society met at the Streator Public Library on October 12. Lyle Kennedy, Streator city commissioner and member of the editorial staff of the *Times-Press,* spoke on "The Streator Story from a Newspaper Viewpoint." New officers, elected at this meeting, are C. C. Tisler, president; Keith Clark, vice-president; Florence Brown, corresponding secretary; Jane Mills, recording secretary; Mrs. Hugh Black, treasurer; Mrs. Harry Troup, Mrs. Sadie Murray, Ray Richardson, Ruth Karger, Keith Clark and John Graham, directors.

Mayor Otis J. Bearce of Lewistown announced on June 3 the appointment of a twelve-member historical committee "to perpetuate, preserve and promote the rich cultural and historical heritage of Lewistown." Members of the committee are Nelle Gustine, Harold Higgins, Mose Boyd, Glenn Ratcliff, H. H. Kipp, Gilman Davidson, Alice Hicks, Helen Bearce, Marc Hess, Walter Kinnamon, Grace Cordell and Emma Craig. The immediate objective of the committee will be an attempt to consummate the negotiations with the State of Illinois in connection with the Ross mansion.

Mrs. Dorothy Hawk served as moderator of a panel discussion on "Libertyville Fifty Years Ago" at the Libertyville-Mundelein Historical Society's first meeting of the new season, held at Cook Memorial Library on September 22.

Old Settlers' Day was held at Mount Pulaski on September 5 under the auspices of the Logan County Historical Society. The principal speaker was Benjamin S. DeBoice of Springfield, whose subject was "The Spiritual Development of Abraham Lincoln." John Cobb, vocal music teacher; Mayor Elmer Shaffenacker, and the Revs. Paul Burdick, John E. Muir and Ray O. Zumstein, all of Mount Pulaski, participated in the program.

Mrs. Inez Dunn, librarian and curator since 1944 of the McLean County Historical Society's museum in the McBarnes Memorial Building, Bloomington, resigned in September.

State Historian Clyde C. Walton addressed a group at the Web-

ber Borchers home in Decatur on September 15, looking toward a reorganization of the Macon County Historical Society. Originally organized in May, 1916, the Society has previously been reorganized three times after periods of inactivity.

President Roscoe Ball of the Marshall County Historical Society directed a tour of Evans Township cemeteries on October 12. Participants in the tour visited the graves of Joseph Warner, William Brown and Lemuel Gaylord, Revolutionary soldiers, in Cherry Point and Cumberland cemeteries, as well as the site of Fort Darnell (Black Hawk War) and of the first home, mill, church and school in the township.

A Society project for the coming year is the photostating of the record pages of old family Bibles as a nucleus for a library. When funds become available to finish the remodeling of the courthouse, the Society will have an exhibition and meeting room there.

New officers of the Mercer County Historical Society, elected on August 26, are Archer Sheats, president; Mrs. L. Boyd Finch and Wray Watt, vice-presidents; Mrs. Max Constant, secretary; and Glenn Stancliff, treasurer. The board of directors includes the officers and Guy Noble, Fred Moffit, Lawrence McManus, C. Raymond Johnson, Mrs. Paul Sanquist, Margaret Miles, George Acord, Fred Clawson, Mrs. I. E. Cameron, Lyle Bridgford, Dan Whitmarsh, Mrs. Everett Giffin and Mrs. G. E. Platt. Directors from two townships are yet to be named.

Earl Cheesebro described and showed specimens of his collection of geodes, fossils and rock formations at the Nauvoo Historical Society's quarterly meeting on October 21. Members of the Society are undertaking to gather geodes, which are to be found in the Nauvoo area.

Members of the Peoria Historical Society, on October 20, heard Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer speak on her grandfather, B. J. Calligan, a prominent shoe manufacturer; Grace Fahnestock, on her grandfather, Colonel Allen L. Fahnestock; Mrs. Claudius U. Stone, Sr., on her father, Hero T. Poppen, and the grocery chain he founded; and President Gerald T. Kelsch, on Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, chaplain of Fort Crèvecoeur. The meeting was held at the Bradley University Student Center where its sessions for the 1958-1959 year will be held.

Mr. and Mrs. Albert Teabeau of Du Quoin were hosts to the Perry County Historical Society on July 7 for a picnic supper (transferred indoors because of inclement weather) and a showing of

colored slides of scenic spots in southern Illinois, Florida, and the Far West.

The Society met in the Exposition Hall on the county fairgrounds on September 8. Following a potluck dinner, Gale D. Hicks showed a film "In the Beginning," depicting geological activities in the formation of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River.

The Rev. Billy Hahs, pastor of the Pinckneyville Methodist Church, presented colored slides of Washington, D.C., and places in eastern Virginia, at the Society's meeting in the Pinckneyville Public School on October 6.

The Randolph County Historical Society was host to members of the Saline County Historical Society on July 13 for a tour of historic sites in and around Chester.

Two busloads of Randolph County Society members toured historical sites on Kaskaskia Island and in Ste Geneviève, Missouri, on September 28.

Mrs. Robert Smith of Chester, president of the Twenty-fifth District, Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, was the principal speaker at the Society's annual banquet in Sparta on October 28, and described historic spots in the South. Preliminary plans for the Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society in Randolph County on May 9 and 10, 1959, were discussed with State Historian Clyde C. Walton; John W. Allen, Past President of the Illinois State Historical Society; Louis E. Aaron, director of the State Society; Richard S. Hagen and Berry B. Tracy, historical consultants of the Division of Parks and Memorials; and John Brown, director of the Eldorado Art Center, all guests of the Society.

New officers of the Society, elected at this meeting, are Mrs. W. J. Spurgeon, president; Mrs. R. H. Groff, vice-president; Mrs. Jessie Lochhead, secretary; Sylvan Dial, treasurer; Roy Meyer, Lily Flynn, Henry Thielen, Mrs. John S. Gilster, and Charles Beare (holdover), directors. Eliza Lynn was appointed special treasurer to handle Illinois State Historical Society dues, the previous system of affiliation for local societies having been done away with at the State Society's annual meeting in Galesburg.

The Rockton Township (Winnebago County) Historical Society met at the Talcott Free Library in Rockton on October 13.

Frank Modglin of Metropolis was the principal speaker at the Saline County Historical Society's meeting in the Eddyville schoolyard on August 5. He reviewed Judge James Hall's *Ballads from the Bluffs,* showed colored slides of locations mentioned in the book and other scenic spots of "Egypt,"

and gave a brief history of Eddyville (originally called Book).

John W. Allen of Carbondale addressed the Saline County Society on September 2 on "Early Schools in Saline County." John Murphy, assistant superintendent of Saline County schools, followed with a brief description of present-day schools. The meeting was held at the Dorrisville Grade School, whose principal, Brose Phillips, welcomed the Society. Pamela Colbert, a student of Harrisburg Junior High School and winner of a recent television talent contest, gave two pantomime dance routines.

Mrs. Charles Combe of Harrisburg described her recent three-month trip through the Near East at the Society's meeting at the Mitchell-Carnegie Library, Harrisburg, on October 7. A social hour followed.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society held a joint meeting with the Williamson County Historical Society at Marion on October 24. Roger Q. Kimmel, Mrs. Nannie Parks and Mrs. Guyla Moreland were re-elected trustees of the Southern Illinois Society; Walter Collins was elected to the board to fill the unexpired term of the late Dr. Norman Caldwell. The principal speaker was Dr. George Adams, chairman of the history department of Southern Illinois University, who stressed the importance of preserving local history and traditions. Hal Trovillion was congratulated on his fiftieth anniversary as operator of the oldest privately owned press in the state. Mrs. Snyder Herrin sang three songs. The Rev. Hosea Borum spoke briefly on "The Philosophy of a Hillbilly." John W. Allen gave brief memorial tributes to the late Amelia Aaron and Dr. Caldwell. President Elbert Fulkerson of the Southern Illinois Society presided at the meeting, and President Ruth Grant of the Williamson County Society was hostess.

The Stark County Historical Society sponsored a celebration at Toulon, on October 7, commemorating the speeches in that city by Stephen A. Douglas on October 5, 1858, and by Abraham Lincoln the following day. Illinois' two present senators, Paul H. Douglas and Everett M. Dirksen, spoke on Douglas and Lincoln, respectively. President Charles A. Wilson of the Society gave a sketch of Toulon history one hundred years ago. The proceedings were prefaced by an old-time horse-and-buggy parade from the high school to the courthouse square. The Society's museum was open for inspection throughout the day. Coffee and doughnuts were served by the Stark County Republican committee.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford held open house at

the Erlander museum on September 14 in honor of the seventy-fifth birthday of Axel F. Rehnberg, now in his third year as the Society's president. Rehnberg, board chairman of Rehnberg-Jacobson Manufacturing Company, is also serving a two-year term as president of the National Swedish Cultural Society of America, and earlier this year was made a Knight of the Royal Order of Vasa by King Gustav VI Adolf of Sweden.

The first meeting of the 1958-1959 season of the Vandalia Historical Society was held at the Methodist Church on September 16. Farewell tribute was paid to the Rev. Roscoe C. Coen, who is retiring from the ministry, and to Mrs. Coen, by the Society's founder and president-emeritus, Joseph C. Burtschi. Mary Burtschi spoke on "Abraham Lincoln and Other Leaders in a Frontier Capital." Short talks were also given by Mrs. Otis Hoffman and Stanley Stewart.

The Society sponsored the observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the dedication of the Madonna of the Trail statue in Vandalia, in ceremonies in the House of Representatives room of the old Statehouse on October 26.

At the original dedicatory ceremonies in 1928, the principal speaker was County Judge Harry S Truman of Jackson County, Missouri, later President of the United States. At the rededication ceremonies, the principal speaker was Attorney Louis A. McLaughlin of Vandalia, who spoke on the history of the old National Road.

President Josephine Burtschi of the Society welcomed the guests, with Mrs. Frank V. Davis, of the Benjamin Mills Chapter, D.A.R., of Greenville, responding. Alenia McCord was in charge of program and arrangements, and musical and speech groups from Vandalia Community High School participated.

The original statues — one for each of the ten states through which the Cumberland or National Road ran — were the gift of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Pearl McCall, a native of Wayne County but for many years an attorney in Washington, D.C., spoke on the "Pig Ridge" section of the county (southwest of Fairfield) at the Wayne County Historical Society's first meeting of its new season, held at the Public Library on September 26.

The Society sponsored an exhibit of old-time articles at the "Good Old Days" celebration in Fairfield, September 11-13.

New officers of the Williamson County Historical Society, elected on October 12, are Ruth Grant, president; Mrs. G. W. Bayles and Mrs. Mabel Purcell, vice-presi-

dents; Pearl Roberts, secretary; Jessie Gray, treasurer; Mrs. Nannie Parks, archivist. Speakers at the meeting were Mrs. Christine Mercer of Carterville, speaking on genealogy, and Mrs. Paul Colp, who spoke on "Rare Glass" and exhibited some pieces from her collection.

Lloyd Hollister, president of Hollister Publications, was the speaker at the Winnetka Historical Society's meeting on October 8. Hollister Publications publishes the *Winnetka Talk, Glencoe News, Glenview Announcements, Northbrook Star* and *Wilmette Life*. Hollister is also vice-president of the *Evanston Review*.

The Society's plans for the coming year include the acquisition of the "Burnham cabin," the oldest house in Winnetka, and its removal to a central location; and co-sponsorship of the centennial celebration of Winnetka's first school, to take place in April, 1959. Officers of the Society are Lloyd Faxon, president; Harold I. Orwig, vice-president; Mrs. Chester E. Bauman, secretary; and Edward C. Vandenburgh, treasurer.

Marker Dedicated at Starved Rock

The Illinois branch, Daughters of the American Colonists, dedicated a historical marker at Starved Rock State Park on July 8. Members of the Du Page chapter played the principal parts in the ceremonies: Mrs. F. I. Vandercook, Glen Ellyn, state chairman of historical sites, presided; Mrs. John E. King, Wheaton, state regent, dedicated the marker and presented it to the state; Mrs. Arthur W. Abbott, Downers Grove, gave the invocation; and Mrs. Ralph D. Garrette, Naperville, state Americanism chairman, led in the pledge to the flag. The marker, engraved and put in place by John Jobst of Ottawa, was accepted by the late superintendent of the Division of Parks and Memorials, William R. Allen. It reads:

Fort St. Louis

Archaeological excavations by the State of Illinois and the University of Chicago have shown Starved Rock the site of the first permanent fortress in the Illinois country, erected 1682-1683 by La Salle and his lieutenant Tonti.

State Natural History Survey Centennial

Harlow B. Mills, chief of the Illinois State Natural History Survey, gave a talk on the Survey's first century of existence on May 9, at the meeting of the Illinois State Academy of Science held at the University of Illinois.

The Survey was started in 1858

at, and under the auspices of, the then newly organized Illinois State Normal University. The collections were turned over to the state in 1871, and the following year Stephen A. Forbes was named curator. In 1884 the State Laboratory of Natural History (as it was known until it acquired its present name in 1917) was moved to the University campus at Urbana, where Forbes continued as its director and at the same time served as state entomologist and professor on the University faculty. He also was dean of the College of Science for sixteen years, directed the first forest survey of the state, became known as the "father of ecology," and helped organize the University's first golf club. (See pages 357-79.)

Heads of the Survey since Forbes's death in 1930, at the age of eighty-six, have been Theodore H. Frisch, 1930-1945; Leo R. Tehon, 1945-1947; and Professor Mills, 1947-date.

New Pictures for Postville Courthouse

Four new pictures were placed in the Postville Courthouse museum at Lincoln on May 21:

An 1860 campaign photograph of Lincoln, loaned by the Lincoln city council, in whose chamber it has hung for many years.

A large profile view of Lincoln, presented by Mrs. Blanche Scott Lee of Council Bluffs, Iowa.

A portrait of Governor Richard J. Oglesby, a resident of Logan County and the only man to be elected governor of Illinois three times, presented by James T. Hickey.

A photograph of "John Dean Gillett — Cattle King — Logan County — 1888," as the inscription reads, presented by Mrs. John Dean Gillett Hill.

The Lincoln city council is also presenting its old benches to the Courthouse museum — new furniture is being purchased for the city council chamber.

Historical Room at Iroquois County Courthouse

The members of Princes Wache-kee chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Watseka, have cleaned, carded and recorded the articles of historical interest which have long been stored on the second floor of the Iroquois County courthouse. The county board of supervisors has had the room redecorated, a new ceiling and floor installed, and glass showcases and wall cabinets put into the room for the exhibition of the articles.

Beardstown Library to Collect Historical Data

The Beardstown Public Library board has passed a resolution to collect manuscripts, documents and other items of historical interest and to place them in the library for consultation and exhibition. Members of the board are B. W. Smith, president; Clarice Brodman, secretary; Marguerite Dieckhaus, Virgil Dowdall, Mrs. Georgia Howey Musch, Mrs. Elmer Huss, Mrs. Paul Winhold, Virgil Reither and Carrie Green.

Preservation of Governor Reynolds Home Urged

James D. Trabue of Belleville is spearheading a campaign to preserve the old house at 108 North Illinois Street in that city, once the home of John Reynolds, by purchase either by a citizens' organization, by the city or by the state. Reynolds was governor of Illinois during the Black Hawk War and the author of *The Pioneer History of Illinois* and *My Own Times.*

Another Illinois Paper Ceases Publication

After more than a century of continuous publication — except for one month in 1890 — the *Belleville Daily Advocate* was merged with the *Belleville News Democrat* early in November. Thus the trend of the times toward fewer and fewer newspapers claimed another Illinois victim. Prior to the merger the *Advocate* and *News Democrat* had competed on even terms, both were afternoon papers and they had daily circulations just under 12,000 each.

The *Advocate,* which was established in 1839, was issued as a daily paper as early as 1850 although it later reverted to weekly publication on several occasions. Most notable among its long list of editors was probably Jehu Baker, who later was elected to Congress in 1864 and 1866 and again in 1886 and 1896, and for a while during the Reconstruction period was acting consul general to Venezuela. It is said, also, that Mark Twain was a writer for the *Advocate* in the 1870's.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of November 4 conluded its editorial titled "In Memory of the *Advocate*" with this sentence: "May the *News Democrat* serve its area in St. Clair County better than ever before in a resolution of respect for the long history of the *Advocate,* which could count Abraham Lincoln as one of its readers."

A Listing for Genealogists

The Historical Society of Lynn, Massachusetts, organized in 1897, has prepared a list of the 367 manuscript genealogies on deposit in its library. During the past sixty years, lines of descent have been compiled by members who trace back to 267 early settlers. Lynn was settled in 1629. Place of origin of each ancestor, as given in the genealogy, is indicated. A typescript copy of the list is offered for $1.00. Orders should be sent direct to the Society, at 125 Green Street, Lynn, Massachusetts.

Stonewall Jackson Memorial Asks Support

The Stonewall Jackson Memorial, Incorporated, of Lexington, Virginia, is seeking financial support and assistance in locating letters and other Jacksoniana. In the five years since it was granted its charter — April 8, 1953 — the Memorial has acquired the Jackson home in Lexington and has opened it to the public as a free museum. It also has 135 original Jackson letters, fifty-four written by Mrs. Jackson, photostats of fifty more by Jackson, plus a collection of books, magazine and newspaper articles. As another result of the Memorial's program seven states have established Educational Jackson Memorials "to promote and aid activities designed for developing in all people the deeply religious traits of character and the superb devotion to duty which he [Jackson] exemplified."

The Winter Scene on the Front Cover

The picture on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* was made on the trail up St. Louis Canyon in Starved Rock State Park. The photograph was taken by Robert T. Burns for the State Division of Parks and Memorials.

Journal

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Clyde C. Walton
EDITOR

Howard F. Rissler
MANAGING EDITOR

James N. Adams *Ellen M. Whitney*
ASSOCIATE EDITORS

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Dues are $3 a year, or $50 for Life Membership. Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library has large holdings of, and specializes in, Lincolniana and the Civil War period.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

1858 - Officials of Illinois - 1958

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* Deceased, Jan. 11, 1958 ** Deceased, Aug. 10, 1958 † Deceased, Oct. 26, 1958

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